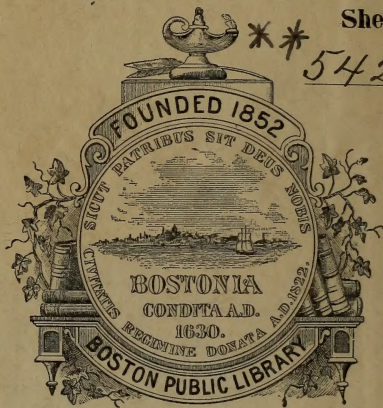




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The essay on Spirit was not written
by Bp. Clayton — He was the publisher and
was supposed to be the Author till lately. —

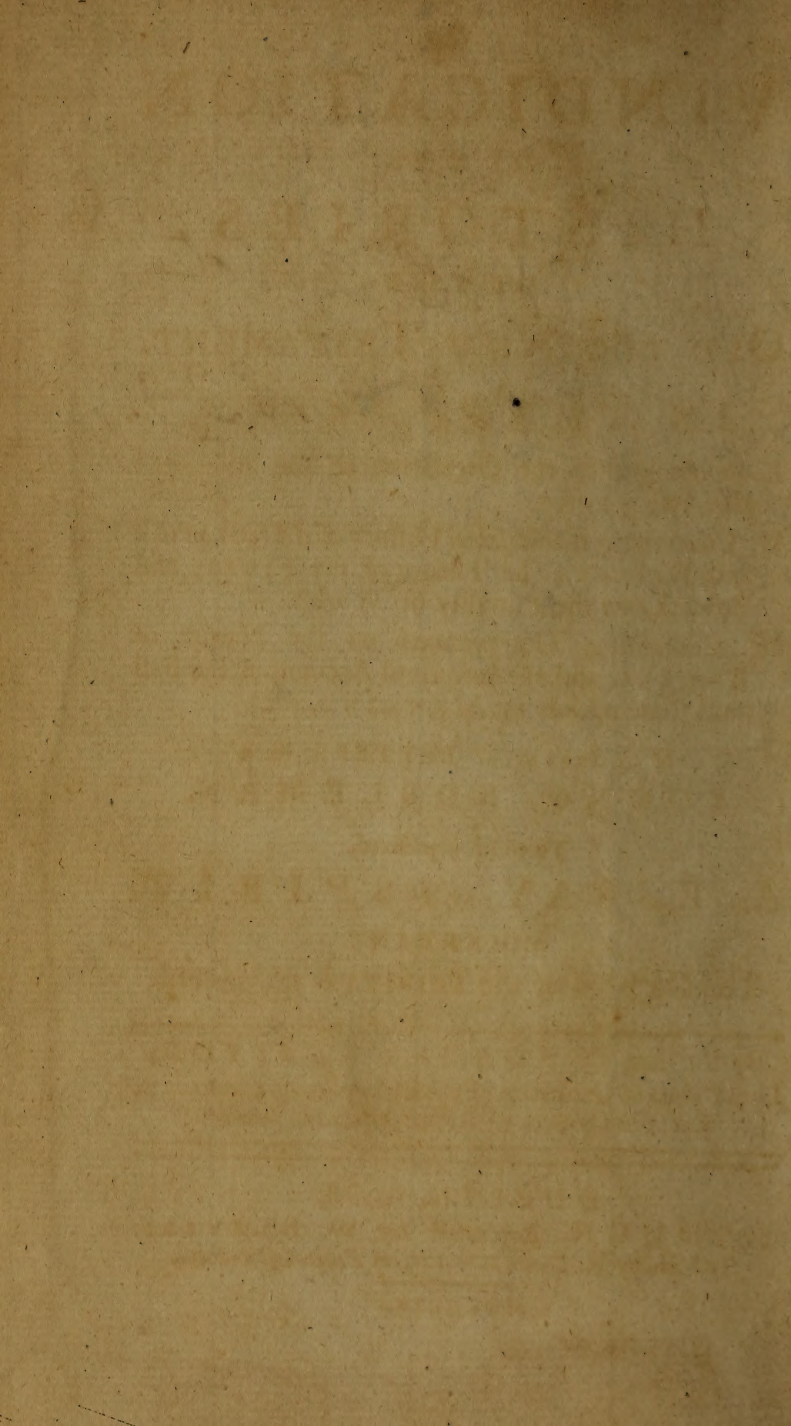
I should much suspect of authenticity of
this intelligence did it not come from the
Dean of Derby, one of the Society. — Perhaps
he wished him not to be the author. But
will this alter ones opinion of Bp. of Clogher
who have read his works — such as the
Dean of D. knows that he did write?

It is allowed that Clayton was one of the
best men who ever adorned any bench of Bp.
shops, whatever his opinions were; and ^{tho} ~~tho~~
he was ^{one} of the finest Scholars in Europe.

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W. E. Abbot.

1829.



VINDICATION

OF THE HISTORIES

OF THE OLD and NEW TESTAMENT.

IN THREE PARTS.

- I. In Answer to the Objections of the late Lord BOLINGBROKE.
- II. Concerning the *Mosaical* History of the CREATION and DELUGE; the Theory of the TIDES; and Remarks on the Plurality of Worlds.
- III. Containing Observations on the Nature of ANGELS, and the Scriptural Account of the Fall and Redemption of MANKIND.

In a SERIES of LETTERS to a
YOUNG NOBLEMAN.

To which is prefixed,

AN ESSAY ON SPIRIT.

WHEREIN

The Doctrine of the TRINITY is considered.

By the late Dr. ROBERT CLAYTON,
Lord Bishop of CLOGHER; Fellow of the ROYAL SOCIETY,
and of the Society of ANTIQUARIES, *London*.

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43.	n. [6] l. 1.	Δαιμονος	Δαιμονας.
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142. penult.		dele who.	

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A N

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WHEREIN

The Doctrine of the TRINITY

IS CONSIDERED

In the Light of NATURE and REASON;

AS WELL AS

In the Light in which it was held by the
ancient *Hebrews*.

Compared also with the Doctrine of the
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The ATHANASIAN and NICENE CREEDS.

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animal est, id motu cietur interiore, & suo. Cic. Somn. Scip.*

TO HIS GRACE,

G E O R G E,

Lord PRIMATE of all IRELAND.

MY LORD,

AS I am a Clergyman of the established Church, and have for some Years been possessed of an Ecclesiastical Preferment, into which, before I could be admitted, I was obliged to subscribe the four first Canons, which include my Assent to the Articles of our Religion, and also to declare publicly my unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every thing, contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer*: And as I have not been so much employed about my temporal Affairs, but that I have found Leisure to apply some Time to my Books, and to *think* as well as *read*; I find that I do not now agree exactly in Sentiment, either with my former Opinions, or with those Persons who drew up the Articles of our Religion, or with the Compilers of our Liturgy, and in particular with the *Athanasian Creed*: And therefore I have laboured under some Difficulties, how to direct myself in these Circumstances.

There was a Sermon preached, not many Years ago, by Dr. *Conybeare*, before the University of *Oxford*, which seems to have been approved of by them, and which hath since been reprinted in *Ireland*; wherein he asserts, that every one who subscribes the Articles of Religion, does thereby engage, not only not to dispute or contradict them; but that his Subscription amounts to an Approbation of, and an Assent to the Truth of the Doctrine therein contained, in

the very Sense which the Compilers thereof are supposed to have understood them: That they are not to be considered as Articles of Peace, but of Doctrine, as the very Title denotes, which is *For the avoiding Diversities of Opinions, and for establishing Consent touching true Religion*. Whereas I apprehend any Attempt towards avoiding Diversity of Opinions, not only to be an useless, but also an impracticable Scheme; since I do not only doubt whether the Compilers of the Articles, but even whether any two *thinking Men* ever agreed exactly in their Opinion, not only with Regard to all the Articles, but even with Regard to any One of them; so that if they were to give their own Interpretation of them, there would be found as many different Sentiments as there were Interpreters; The Difference indeed would not always be great; but still there would be a Difference.

I said *thinking Men*, for, as to the unthinking Herd, whatever was the Creed of their Father, or Tutor, that will be theirs, from their Infancy, to their Lives End; and accordingly, whatever Country you go into, let the Religion be what it will, the unthinking Part thereof are always the reputed Orthodox.

An *Uniformity of Profession* may indeed be both practicable and useful; and seems in some degree to be necessary, not only for the Preservation of Peace, but also for the general Good and Welfare of Society: Since I do not conceive how any Society or Commonwealth can subsist, unless some Form of Religion or other be established therein; as well with regard to Points of Doctrine as Discipline; which however ought to be as plain, few, and fundamental, as possible. And as no established Form of Religion can subsist, unless that Form be publicly made known, and the Teachers thereof are laid under some Obligation, either by Subscription or otherwise, of complying with that Form, and of not preaching, or publicly

liely teaching, any Doctrine contrary thereto; so, I own, I do not see any manner of Impropriety in the legislative Power of any Society insisting upon such a kind of Subscription, as is only required to be made for Peace-sake, and the Preservation of the outward Forms of Society: Since a Man under these Circumstances may, for prudential Reasons, honestly subscribe and submit *to the Use* of one established Form, though he, in his own private Opinion, may think another to be better; provided that he is not obliged to subscribe any thing sinful; or so diametrically opposite to Truth, as that he cannot possibly put any other Construction upon it.

The first Subscription, that I know of, was set on foot at the Council of *Nice*, when the famous Contest about the Trinity was determined in Favour of the *consubstantial* Doctrine, by a Majority of near Twenty to One: To which the Emperor required all the Bishops then present to subscribe. But then he allowed every one to put their own Sense upon the Word *Consubstantial*, and not the Sense that was intended by the Compilers of the Creed: And accordingly, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, though he at first refused subscribing, yet when he was allowed to interpret the Word *Consubstantial*, as meaning only, *that the Son was not of the same Substance with the Creatures that were made by him*; he then subscribed it, and so in a little Time after, did *Arius*.

Peace was what the Emperor wanted, and therefore he was content with Peace: But from the Time that Power was put into the Hands of the Church of *Rome*, implicit Faith and Obedience to her infallible Determinations being what she required; unless Subscriptions were then to be understood as made according to the Sense of the Compilers of the Articles, the Recusants were anathematized, and Fire and Faggot was the Word.

But as I apprehend that the Church of *Ireland* doth not set up for Infallibility, I do not think that she requireth any other Kind of Subscription than such as is necessary for Peace and Quietness: And therefore I am now not much disturbed upon this Head. I likewise find by the Words of the Act of Parliament, which enjoins the Declaration of our “ Assent and “ Consent to all Things contained in *The Book of “ Common-Prayer,*” that the Purport and Intent of the Act is, that this Declaration of Assent should be only *to the Use of* those Things which are contained in the said Book, which is very different from assenting to the Things themselves; and therefore I am pretty easy also with regard to this.

How these Words, *to the Use of,* came to be omitted in the express Form of Words that are ordered to be read in Church for a legal Qualification, I cannot say, nor whether they were omitted out of Neglect, or by Design; but I own it seems to me, when I consider the Humour of the Times when the Act was made, that it was done with Design; as a Snare, to oblige poor [1] conscientious Men, who did not read the Act of Parliament at length, to give up their Livings, rather than declare their “ unfeigned Assent “ and Consent to all and every Thing contained in “ *The Book of Common-Prayer.*” For it is to be observed, that this Condition was not required by the *Act of Uniformity*, as published in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, but was an Addition made thereto, after the Restoration of King Charles the Second, when the Nation was, as it were, mad with the Joy of having recovered its ancient Constitution both in Church and State; The little Oath therefore, wherein it was declared, *that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever,*

[1] And accordingly, there were 1800 Persons that were actually deprived of their Livings, rather than submit to the Terms prescribed.

to take Arms against the King, was at the same time inserted into the *Act of Uniformity*. Which Part of that Act hath been since repealed; and indeed I cannot but sincerely wish, that the other Addition, which was made at the same time, was so far rectified, that the Words of the Declaration should be made to correspond with the Design of the Act, which manifestly was, to require the Declaration of Assent and Consent only *to the Use of* all and every thing contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer*. Because I think that That solemn Declaration, which a Clergyman is obliged to make in the Presence of God and his Congregation, when he is going to take upon himself the Care of their Souls, ought to be simple, positive, plain; free from all Ambiguity or Doubtfulness; and should be expressed in such a Manner, as that it cannot be misunderstood, either by him, or by the Congregation; but that he may safely and honestly make it, according to that *plain and ordinary Sense of the Words*, in which they would *commonly be understood* by all Mankind, *without any Evasion, Equivocation, or mental Reservation whatsoever*; that is, without any latent Reference to the Intention of the Act, which is not expressed in the very Words of the Declaration.

And indeed I am the more desirous of this, because I know for a Certainty, that some of the most learned and conscientious Persons among the Dissenters, have made the Form of our Declaration of “un-
“ feigned Assent and Consent to All and Every thing
“ contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer*,” an Objection, if not the principal one, against coming into our Church.

As also because some of our own Brethren, who consider Subscriptions in the same Light with the bigotted Members of the Church of *Rome*, and probably never read, or never duly considered the *Act of Uniformity*, have taken Occasion, from that Form of

Declaration of Assent, to brand those, who presume to doubt, or differ from them in any of their imaginary orthodox Notions, with the Imputation of Perjury, or at least of Hypocrisy.

But though we should suppose this was done, and that Subscriptions were declared to be only required for Peace-sake; yet there is still a Difficulty which remains behind, with regard to those who do not approve of all the Articles of the established Religion, or of every thing in the Liturgy; because it is natural for them to desire, that those Things, which they take to be Errors,, should be amended; and yet it is found by Experience, that whoever attempts to find fault with the Canons, or the Articles of Religion, or the established Form of Liturgy, becomes immediately a Disturber of the Peace of the Church, as he is sure, at least, to be loaded with the opprobrious Name of *Schismatic*, or *Heretic*, which, ever since the Days of *Popery*, are Sounds that occasion wondrous Horror in the Ears of the Vulgar.

Whoever considers the Difficulties which attend the Reformation of Religion in general, and, in particular, the Difficulties which attended these Nations in their Reformation from *Popery*, ought to thank God, that so much was done at that Time as was done, rather than repine that more was not effected. The Humour of the Times would not suffer a more thorough Reformation; these Nations having been so long accustomed to a kind of utter Darkness, that their Eyes would not bear too much Light to be let in at once.

Christianity was not established, nor the *Jewish* Religion thoroughly reformed, all on a sudden. After *St. Paul* had been many Years a Preacher of the Gospel, he complied with the *Jewish* Ceremony of [2] *shaving his Head in Cenchrea, because he was under*

a Vow; and of [3] purifying himself at the Temple of *Jerusalem*, rather than give Offence to the *Jews*. And the whole Council of Apostles, when assembled at *Jerusalem*, assented to enjoin those [4] *Jewish* Profelytes, who, from among the *Gentiles*, were turned unto God, to continue for some time under a Prohibition from eating Things strangled, and from Blood, which hath been long since discontinued. And our Saviour himself was pleased to declare, that he concealed many Truths, till the Disciples should be able to bear them, John xvi. 12.

The present Constitution of these Kingdoms, both in Church and State, is, in my sincere Opinion, the best in the known World; but I will not say, that it is not capable of being still further amended. What then is to be done? For if the Church be not infallible any more than the State, why may not that be amended as well as the State? And why should we be more afraid of breaking the Peace of the Church than of the State? The Peace of the one being full as necessary to be preserved as the Peace of the other.

The *Christian* Religion was, at its first Propagation, called a [5] *Heresy*; and therefore [6] *St. Paul*, in his Apology to *Felix*, said, *This I confess, that after the Way which they call HERESY, so worship I the God of my Fathers*. Which Denomination was continued to it, so long as to the Time of *Constantine* the Great, who, in his Epistle to *Chrestus* Bishop of *Syracuse*, calls the *Christian* Religion the [7] *Catholic Heresy*: Which Letter was written after the Emperor had declared in favour of *Christianity*.

Αἵρεσις, according to *Stephens*, signifies, in general, the same thing with the *Latin* Words *Secla* and *Dogma*,

[3] Acts xxi. 24.

[4] Acts xv. 19. xx. 29.

[5] Acts xxviii. 22.

[6] Acts xxiv. 5, 14.

[7] Τῆς αἱρέσεως τῆς καθολικῆς. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. x. cap. 5.

that is, a *Seet* or *Opinion*. And accordingly he reckons up ten Sects or Heresies of the ancient Philosophers. But among the Ecclesiastical Writers, says he, it signifies an Opinion, or *Seet*, *that is contrary to the orthodox Faith*. But as the established Religion of every Country is that which constitutes *Orthodoxy*, according to the common Sense of the Word; hence it is, that they who differ and separate therefrom are generally called *Heretics*; and hence it comes to pass, that a Person may be esteemed as very orthodox in *England* or *Ireland*, who would be deemed as an Heretic at *Rome*, or in other Countries. And for the same Reason it was, that the *Christians* were at first called *Heretics* in *Judæa*, because they separated from the *Jewish*, which was the established Religion of the Country; and were also called *Heretics* in *Rome*, because they refused joining with the *Heathen*, which was the then established Religion there.

It is therefore possible that an Heretic may be in the right, according to the original Sense of the Word. It is also possible that he may be in the wrong. And therefore St. Peter says, [8] *There are false Teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable Heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them*. And St. Paul says, [9] *I hear there are Schisms among you; and I partly believe it: For THERE MUST BE ALSO HERESIES, that they which are approved may be made manifest*. Now there is no other Necessity for Heresies being among them but this: That God did not frame human Nature in such a Manner as to necessitate all Men to be of one Mind; but having made Mankind to be free Agents, he left them in the Hand of their own Counsel, to chuse their own Opinions for themselves; according to the Merit or Demerit of which Choice, they will be proper Subjects for Rewards or Punishments.

[8] 2 Pet. ii. 1.

[9] 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19.

And therefore, while this Constitution of human Nature remains, *there must be* Schisms, Divisions, Heresies, or a Diversity of Sects among them. And as all Mankind think themselves to be in the right, so they naturally conclude all those who differ from them to be in the wrong; and hence it comes to pass, that the Word *Heretic* is generally used in a bad Sense, though because a Person is an Heretic, or is of a different Sect from the established Religion, it does by no Means follow, that therefore he must be in the wrong. If the Persons from whom he differs should be infallible, as it is allowed the Apostles were, then indeed it would follow, of consequence, that the Heretic or Separatist must be in an Error. And if, after Instruction and Admonition, he will not amend, it is then fit he should be ejected, or excommunicated out of the Society of the Faithful, lest his Exemption from Punishment should give Encouragement to the Seduction of others; for though it cannot be supposed that his Excommunication will amend himself, yet it may contribute to save other Persons.

And hence it is, that St. Paul, in his Advice to Titus, says, *A Man that is an Heretic, after the first and second Admonition, reject; knowing that he that is such, is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself.* Which Admonition and Rejection shews the Crime of Heresy to consist in an Error of the Will, rather than of the Judgment; for otherwise Titus would have been directed to instruct such a Person, rather than to admonish him. But as it is to be supposed that Information and Instruction would be first tried by Titus, even before the first Admonition, therefore it is the Perverseness of his Will, in still persisting in his Sect or Heresy after Admonition, that seems to be the Cause and Foundation of his Excommunication: For, says St. Paul, such a one is *subverted* from the Faith, and *sinneth*, by persevering therein after

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Admonition; and is *self-condemned*, as having no Excuse of Ignorance to plead after his being admonished thereof. He may indeed not be *self-condemned* with regard to his Error, because he may not be convinced that he is in an Error; but may think himself to be in the right, when he is in the wrong: Whereas, with regard to his Heresy or Separation from the Church to which he belonged, he cannot be ignorant thereof, after Admonition, for differing from the Sense of the Church; and therefore if he persists therein after being admonished, he must be *self-condemned*, with regard to his Perseverance in Opposition to the Church.

And as every legislative Power is so far infallible, as it is the dernier Resort, and only Judge now left upon Earth, of what is right and wrong, within the Limits of its own Jurisdiction; therefore when any Form of Religion hath been once established, they who separate therefrom or act in direct Opposition to its Commands, are to be treated as if such legislative Power was infallible; and if they will not submit, upon Admonition, are to be rejected, to prevent others from being seduced, and to preserve the Peace of Society.

By which Rejection or Excommunication, I do not mean an Exclusion from Civil Rights, and the Protection of the Civil Magistrate, but only from the outward and visible Communion of the Church, and its faithful Members, and all the particular Benefits which properly belong thereto, or may result therefrom; from which as it is by their own Choice that they differ, in disobeying its Rules, or rejecting its Communion, it can be no Injustice that they should be excluded, if they still persist in their Disobedience after Admonition.

Since therefore it appears, that a Man's being of a wrong Opinion is not that which properly denominates him an *Heretic*, but rather his being of a different

rent Opinion from the Majority; one would be apt to wonder why that Word, in general, should have so bad an Idea annexed to it; but that the Answer thereto is obvious, *viz.* That it arises from our having too great a Fondness for ourselves, and our own Opinions; and too great an Aversion to those who differ in Opinion from us.

There is indeed no Reason to be assigned in general, why Men should be more displeased with one another for being of different Opinions, than for their being of different Sizes, or for having a different personal Appearance. And were it not that Experience convinces us of the Matter of Fact, it would be hard to believe that Men's Passions could carry them to that Degree of Animosity against each other, on account of Opinions barely speculative, which we find practised in all Countries, and almost all Ages.

I can very well conceive why Men should contract an Aversion and an Hatred for one another about Opinions, where their temporal Interests are concerned; and do not wonder when I read, that [1] *Demetrius* the Silversmith raised a Tumult against *Paul* at *Ephesus*, for saying, that *they be no Gods which are made with Hands*; because by this bold Assertion, as *Demetrius* acknowledged, this *Craft* was in Danger to be set at nought, and, *ye know, Sirs*, said he, *that by this Craft we have our Wealth*.

But it is not so easy to account why one Man should bear an ill Will to his Neighbour, or any of his Fellow-Creatures, for being of a different Opinion from him in Matters barely speculative, in which the other is no way concerned, further than as he is a [2] Man, and a Lover of Mankind. In which respect every body ought to be so far concerned for his Fellow-creatures as to do all that lies in his Power to contri-

[1] Acts xix. 24.

[2] *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.*

bute to the Happiness of each other ; but then this is to be done in a proper, kind, and friendly Manner. And, if that will not prevail, contrary Methods ought by no means to be attempted ; since that Principle which directs us to use all Men well, can never vindicate us in using any Man ill.

If one Man is a *Christian*, and another is a *Jew*, *Turk*, or Infidel, of any Denomination, there can be no more Reason for having a Dislike upon that account to each other, than because they were not all born in the same Country, or bred up under the same Tutor, or do not all speak the same Language ; since ninety-nine in an hundred of those who are *Christians*, would probably have been *Mahometans*, if they had been born in *Turkey*, and would have imbibed their Religion, as they do their native Tongue, along with their Mother's Milk ; and the same may be said of *Jews* or *Mahometans*, that they would have been *Christians*, if they had been born in a *Christian* Country, and of *Christian* Parents.

If it pleases the Almighty to endow one Man with a better Understanding, or greater natural Abilities of any kind, than his Neighbour, to appoint the Place of his Birth, where he has better Opportunities of being informed in true Religion, or to produce him from such Parents as will take Care that he is better educated in the Paths of Virtue : These are Blessings for which he ought to be thankful to his Creator ; but are far from being any Reason why he should bear an Ill-will to those Persons, who have not received the same Advantages from Providence ; or why he should not live in a kind and neighbourly Manner with them, though he thinks them in an Error with regard to their religious Principles.

And yet Experience convinces us, that the Conduct of Mankind is quite otherwise ; which can be attributed to nothing but a vicious Pride in our Nature, which makes us not content with the Applause of our
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own Conscience, when we think ourselves in the Right, unless we have the Applause of others also. And renders us solicitous to gain Followers and Admirers, at the same Time that it gives us an Aversion for every one that differs in Opinion from us.

Athanasius, in Answer to this Question, Πόθεν λέγεται Αἵρεσις; unde dicitur *Hæresis*? saith, Ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρεῖσθαι τι ἴδιον, ἢ τῆτο ἐξακολουθεῖν, *ab eligendo & prosequendo sententiam suam privatam*. So that the conceiving of Error is not that which constitutes the Crime of Heresy, but the prosecuting and persevering in it, to the raising of a Party, and exciting *Followers*, whence also the Word *Seet* is derived; and for this Reason it is that *St. Paul* reckons up *Heresies* among such [3] Works of the Flesh, as *Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Envyings, Murders, and such like*, as it is near of Kind to them, and may be the Foundation and Cause of them.

What then is it the Duty of any Person to do, who is the professed Member of any established Church, if he sees, or he imagines he sees, any Errors, either in the Doctrine or Discipline of that Church? Must he, for fear of disturbing the Peace of the Church and being deemed a Schismatic, or Heretic, sit down quietly, and not endeavour to set them to Rights? Or, must he fly off, and separate immediately from it?

As to the first, if Men were not to declare their Opinions, in spite of Establishments either in Church or State, Truth would soon be banished the Earth. Error puts on so much a fairer Outside, ornaments itself with so many plausible Appearances, and comes loaded with so many Bribes to tempt us from our Duty; that if Truth did not sometimes shew itself, and exert its Abilities in its own Defence, the World would be soon over-run with Error, as an uncultivated Garden with Weeds. Of which the Experience of Times

past is sufficient to convince us, by the Growth and Continuance of Errors in the Church of *Rome*, from the Time that the Bible was shut, and the Court of Inquisition opened.

And as to the second, whoever he is who thinks he ought to separate from that Church wherein he sees some Errors, if it will not immediately reform and amend them; and thinks it his Duty to refuse joining in Communion with any Set of Men, till he meets with a Constitution, either in Church or State, that is absolutely free from Errors; such an one, I fear, is not fitted for this World, but must live by himself, till he is conducted into a Society of Angels.

In my Opinion, therefore, the middle Course is that which he ought to pursue, which in this Affair, as well as most others, is certainly the best.

Let us consider how a Person in like Circumstances, with regard to the State, ought to conduct himself; and this may perhaps determine our Behaviour with regard to the other. For we generally talk more calmly, as well as more rationally, concerning the Affairs of the State, than of the Church.

Suppose a Person sees any Errors in that Constitution of Government under which he lives; may he not, ought he not to lay his Opinion before the legislative Powers of that Society, in order to procure an Amendment of it? I think he ought. But then he ought at the same time, unless in Cases of the utmost Necessity, where the Vitals of the Constitution are in Danger, not only not to desert the State, though the Amendment should not be made; but also to avoid raising *Parties* or *Factions* in the State, for the Support of his Opinion; which in the Ecclesiastical Style, would be called *Heresies*.

But to this it is objected, that here the Parallel will not hold, because Men's temporal Interests will restrain them from overturning the Establishment of the State; whereas too many would be very glad to have
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the Establishment of the Church quite set aside. It may therefore be dangerous to begin with making Alterations or Amendments in the Church, lest those Scaffoldings which are erected for Repairs, should be made Use of to pull down the whole Fabric.

With humble Submission however to these cautious Gentlemen, I am under less Apprehension for the Church than for the State : For, as to the *Christian* Religion in general, we have the sure Word of Prophecy, that *the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*. And as to particular Establishments, I should apprehend, that the freer they were from Errors, the more likely they would be to stand. At least, I should think it would be right to run some Risque, and place some Trust in the Providence of God, rather than let Errors of any Consequence remain.

But, say they again, *Truth is not to be spoken at all Times*. Which I will allow so far, as to acknowledge, that Prudence and Temper is to be made use of even in the Publication of Truth ; but not that Truth may be concealed for ever, under the Pretence, that the Publication of it at present would be out of Season ; for if Error may be safely established, and Truth concealed, how can we vindicate all that Outcry that was made by *Protestants* against the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, &c. ? Since it is manifest, that, before the Reformation took place, the same Arguments were then made Use of against any Innovations in Religion that are now. And all the Alterations in the established Form of Worship were then as much declaimed against by the Ecclesiastics of those Days, as they can be at present.

I am not against joining the Wisdom of the Serpent with the Innocence of the Dove : But I would not have the Wisdom of the Serpent without the Innocence of the Dove. Let us be as wise as possible in defending what is right in our Establishment ; but let us not exert the same Wisdom in defending what is

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wrong

wrong. But, above all, let us, in the Name of God, take care, that our Foundations be clear, and that our Articles and Creeds are free from Error.

The Author of these Papers, though he hath addressed them to Your GRACE, is very sensible, that it is not in Your Power, nor in that of all the Ecclesiastics of the Land, to alter the established Form of Worship; he knows, that the *Act of Uniformity*, upon which it depends, and of which our Liturgy is a Part, was passed into a Law, by the joint Consent of the three Estates of the Realm; and he trusts in God, that he never shall see the Church independent on the State.

But, my LORD, though the Bishops and Clergy, either in or out of Convocation, cannot redress, yet they may recommend; the Author, however, cannot but remark, that he does not recollect any Instance in History, since the Times of the Apostles, where the Reformation of Religion in any material Points hath been brought about by the Influence of the Clergy in general; the Bulk of them, who are always the least knowing, being most tenacious of old Opinions. The Pope, indeed, every now and then, makes some Reformation of the Calendar of Saints, and strikes out a few antiquated Holy-days, in order to make room for new Canonizations: But if we are to take our Precedents from what hath hitherto passed in the Reformation of any material Points in Religion, it must be effected by a few leading Persons among the Clergy, when supported by the upper and more thinking Part of the Laity.

And, as it hath pleased God and His Majesty to call you to the Primacy of this Church, the Author cannot think of any Person more proper to address himself to at present, than Your GRACE; as well on account of Your personal Abilities, as of Your Interest with those leading Members of the Society, whe-

ther Laymen or Clergy, who compose the Legislative Power of this Realm.

And as he thinks this to be the most proper and *Christian* Method of conveying his own Sentiments to *the Powers that be*; so hath he also published his Sentiments in the Garb of a metaphysical Essay, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the lower Class of Readers, whose Thoughts might be disturbed by an Enquiry into Subjects of this Nature; till by gentle Degrees they come, by the Blessing of God, to be made a Part of the established Religion of the Country; which will give them a proper Recommendation and Weight with those, who are not otherwise capable of judging of them.

Not that he expects, that every Thing, which he hath advanced in this *Essay* is to be received by his Reader as an Article of Faith, but only that it may have its due Weight in his serious Considerations; for as he is desirous, that no human Conjectures may be imposed upon him, as of equal Authority with Divine Revelation; so neither does he desire, that his Conjectures should be obtruded upon others.

The Author is thoroughly convinced, that Ministers of State will be very cautious, and with great Reason, how they embroil themselves with religious Disputes. But as he does not apprehend, that there is any Need of pursuing violent Methods, so neither doth he expect that a thorough Reformation of every thing that may be amended, should be made all at once. He could wish, however, that something was done, to convince the World, that the Clergy of the Church of *Ireland*, are not averse to a proper Reformation of such Parts of her public Service, as demand a more immediate Revival; since, otherwise, they may give Offence by their Obstinacy, and seeming Infallibility; and if a Storm should arise, may run a Risque of having that Tree torn up by the

Roots, which might have been saved by a little pruning.

As the Laws of the Land require Subscriptions to be made to the Canons and Articles of our Religion, only by Clergymen, Fellows of Colleges, Clerks, and School Masters, so these do not seem to need that immediate Redress, which those Parts of our Worship require, in which the whole Community are expected to join.

He thinks, that he need not inform your GRACE, That that Creed, which is commonly called the *Athanasian* Creed, hath of a long Time given Offence, and continueth to give great Offence to many People. And indeed not without Reason, if we consider it only in this Light, that the Subject of a great Part of it, is a Theologico-Metaphysical Dispute, which few, if any, of the Learned understand; but is undoubtedly above the Capacity of the Vulgar; and yet, by being made a Part of our public Service, every Body, as well low as high, is required to assent to it.

It is also now universally acknowledged among the Learned, that it was originally a spurious Production, imposed upon the World under the Name of *Athanasius*, till detected by the Criticisms of the learned *Vossius*. But, supposing it had been a genuine Piece, and had been undoubtedly written by *Athanasius*, there can be no Reason assigned, why the Members of the Church of *Ireland* should be tied down to assent to the Compositions of a private Person, who had no other Merit, which the Author can find, for being declared a Saint, but his base and low Submission to the Bishop of *Rome*, who had no legal Authority over him; and his insolent Behaviour to his lawful Prince, who undoubtedly had a Right to his Obedience.

The Author does, by no means, presume to prescribe to Your GRACE; but he thinks himself in
Duty

Duty obliged to recommend it to Your Consideration, whether the first Step to be taken, is not to try to get the Words in the Declaration of Assent and Consent made agreeable to the Intention of the Act, which was attempted in *England*, A. D. 1663, about a Year after the last *Act of Uniformity*, and passed the House of Lords, but was thrown out in the House of Commons, by the then over-ruling Influence of the Duke of *York*, and his Party, who did not let the Clause proposed pass even the House of Lords without a Protest. But as we are now, thank God, free from any Apprehensions of the prevailing Influence of such an Administration, he hopes Your GRACE will not decline making the Attempt here, as he apprehends it will open a Freedom of Conversation among those Persons, who have hitherto imagined themselves to be Tongue-tied, by having publicly and absolutely given their unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every thing contained in the *Book of Common-Prayer*.

Which will be a proper, if not necessary, Preparative to a gradual Perception of those further Emendations of our Liturgy, which are proposed by some anonymous Authors, in the second Edition of a Book, lately published, entitled, *Free and candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England*. With whom, tho' the Author of these Papers does not agree in Opinion, concerning the Doctrine contained in the *Athanasian Creed*, and a few other Particulars: Yet he cannot avoid giving them their due Commendations, for the true *Christian Spirit* of Candour, Moderation, and Meekness, which breathes through their whole Performance.

It is indeed prohibited by the *Act of Uniformity*, under severe Penalties, for any Person to preach, declare, or speak any thing to the Derogation, or depraving the Book of Common-Prayer, or any Part thereof; which, however, is by no means inconsistent with that *Chris-*

tian Liberty of a decent and free Use either of Conversation, or of the Press, concerning any Alterations or Amendments, which it may be right and prudent to have made therein. As he apprehends, that every Person is liable to be punished by the Laws of the Land, who shall *preach, declare, or speak to the Derogation or depraving* any Act of Parliament, while it continues in Force: And yet common Reason, as well as common Custom, allows every Person to propose Alterations, and speak his Mind with regard to any Amendments, which may be made therein, provided it be done with due Respect to the Legislative Powers of the Realm.

And when this is complied with, he then looks upon it as the Duty of such as see any Errors in the Constitution, either of Church or State, to lay their Sentiments before *the Powers that be*, in order to produce an Amendment; which is the Motive that prevails with the Author of these Papers, to give Your GRACE the Trouble of this Address; and to recommend to those in Authority the Consideration of the Advice given by the learned and religious Dr. *Hammond*, in his Treatise, entitled, [4] *A View of the new Directory*. Where, speaking in favour of the Moderation used in our Church-Catechism, he saith, “ If
 “ we would all keep ourselves within that Modera-
 “ tion, and propose no larger Catalogue of *Credenda*
 “ to be believed by all than the *Apostles Creed*, as it is
 “ explained in our *Catechism*, doth propose; and lay
 “ the greater Weight upon the Consideration and
 “ Performance of the Vow of Baptism, and all the
 “ Commands of God, as they are explained by
 “ *Christ*; — I should be confident there would
 “ be less hating and *damning* one another, (which is
 “ most ordinarily for Opinions) more *Piety* and Cha-

[4] See Sect. 40.

“ rity, and so true *Christianity* among *Christians* and
 “ *Protestants*, than hath hitherto been met with.”
 Which would be the most proper Method that could
 be taken, to render the Church of *Ireland* truly *ca-*
tholic; not by driving Members out of its *Pale*, on
 account of human Appointments and Determina-
 tions, in Imitation of the Church of *Rome*; but by
 opening the Gates of its Communion as wide as was
 consistent with the Gospel of *Christ*.

The Preface to our *Book of Common-Prayer* declares,
 that “ the particular Forms of Divine Worship, and
 “ the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be used
 “ therein, being Things in their own Nature indif-
 “ ferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is
 “ but reasonable, that, upon weighty and important
 “ Considerations, according to the various Exigen-
 “ cies of Times and Occasions, such Changes and
 “ Alterations may be made therein, as to those that
 “ are in Place and Authority should, from Time to
 “ Time, seem either necessary or expedient.”

The Eyes of Mankind have been greatly opened,
 not only since the Reformation, but even since the
 Revolution. And that Liberty of Conversation and
 the Press, which the Inhabitants of these Kingdoms
 have ever since been gloriously indulged in, hath
 much promoted a Freedom of thinking, which was
 curbed and kept down, during the Dominion and In-
 fluence of *Popery*.

And as at present the Generality of these Nations
 seem more inclinable to listen to Reason than for-
 merly, the Author of these Papers hath that Confi-
 dence both in the Soundness of Your GRACE's Judg-
 ment, and the Prudence of Your Conduct, that he
 makes no Doubt of Your doing every thing that is
 proper upon this Occasion, to remove those Rocks of
 Offence, which lie in the Way of so many well-
 meaning Persons.

This Attempt of his, he thinks, however, for many Reasons, to be worth the making; because, though it should not succeed, yet he is sure of having that Satisfaction from it, that he can say, *Liberravi Animam meam*: SEE YE TO IT: And that it furnishes him with an Opportunity of professing himself to be

Your GRACE'S

Most devoted, and

Most obedient

Humble Servant.

A N
E S S A Y
O N
S P I R I T.

I. **T**HE Opinion of [1] *Spinoza* was, that there is no other *Substance* in Nature but God : That Modes cannot subsist, or be conceived, without a Substance : That there is nothing in Nature but Modes and Substances ; and that therefore every thing must be conceived as subsisting in God.

Which Opinion, with some few Alterations, hath been embraced and cultivated, by *P. Malbranche* and *Bishop Berkeley*.

II. It may indeed be asserted, that there is in Nature but one self-existent Being, Subsistence, or Substance, which, by way of Eminence, may therefore be called *the Substance* ; or, figuratively and comparatively speaking, *the only Being, Subsistence, or Substance* in Nature. For by these three Words, I would be understood to mean one and the same Thing. The Logicians define *Substantia* to be *Ens per se subsistens* &

[1] *Præter Deum nulla datur, nec concipi potest substantia, (per Proposit. xiv.) hoc est (per Defin.) Res, quæ in se est, & per se concipitur. Modi autem (per Defin. v.) sine substantia, nec esse, nec concipi possunt : Quare hi in sola divina natura esse, & per ipsam solam concipi possunt.*

Spin. Oper. posth. Ethices, par. I. pag. 12.

substans

Substans accidentibus. And I mean the same Thing by a *Being*, *Existence*, *Subsistence*, or *Substance*; that is, something capable of supporting *Modes*, *Accidents*, *Relations*, or *Properties*, which are only different Words, to denote the various *Manners*, or *Modes*, by which existent Beings can raise Ideas in our Minds, or, which is the same Thing, can become knowable by us. Every Existence or Being, I therefore call a *Substance*; the Manner in which it makes an Impression on our Minds, I call a *Mode*; and the Effect or Impression, which is thereby made upon the Mind, I call an *Idea*.

Now as NOTHING can have no Properties, wherever we perceive any Properties, we therefore reasonably conclude, that there must be SOMETHING; that is, some Existence or other to support them. Hence the Maxim laid down by *Spinoza*, *Modi sine Substantia, nec esse, nec concipi possunt*: Or as Sir *Isaac Newton* expresseth it [2], *Virtus sine Substantia subsistere non potest*.

And as God is the only self-existent Being, therefore he may, comparatively speaking, be said to be the only Being in Nature. And accordingly, when *Moses* enquired of God, by what Name he should make him known to the Children of *Israel*, God said, [3] *Thus shalt thou say to the Children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you.* That is, I that AM hath sent me unto you; for so it should have been rendered, And therefore in the first Part of the Verse, where God saith unto *Moses*, *I am that I am*; it should be rendered I AM that AM, as it is by the *Septuagint*, *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν*, that is, *I am he that is*, or that exists, as if, comparatively speaking, there was no other Being or Existence but God.

From which Passage it probably was, that [4] *Plato* borrowed his Notion of God, when he asserted, that

[2] *Newt. Princ. Schol. gen.* p. 483. [3] *Exod. iii. 14.*

[4] *Plato, Timæus.*

the Word *ἐστίν*, *est*, is solely applicable to the eternal Nature of God. And from him it also probably was, the the Word *εἶ*, *i. e. thou art*, was all that was written on the Door of the *Delphic* Temple : Upon which *Plutarch* remarks, that this word is solely applicable to God, since that which truly *is* must be sempiternal.

All which is true, when we speak of God in a figurative and less correct Manner, only in comparison with the Creatures that have been made by him ; between whom and their Creator there is no Proportion ; and which, when considered in Comparison with him, are as *Nothing*. Which is the View that God is to be considered in, as spoken of in the above mentioned Passages, quoted out of the Books of *Moses*, and the Theological Works of *Plato*.

III. But when we speak of God and his Works, in a philosophical and more accurate Manner, this will not hold. Since, as *Des Cartes* truly argues, *I know that I exist*. I cannot be deceived in this. If therefore I exist, and that I am not God, then there is another Existence in Nature beside God. I hope I cannot be thought so absurd, or so impious, as to imagine, that there are more Gods than *one* ; or that I did not receive my Existence from the Will and Power of God : The Consciousness of my own Existence necessarily leads me to a first Cause, which first Cause can only be *one* ; because two first Causes are a Contradiction in Terms. Every Thing therefore that exists, beside that *First Cause*, which Way soever it is brought forth into Being, whether it be *begotten*, *emanated*, *created*, or *spoken forth*, it must proceed from, and owe its Existence to the [5] Will, as well as Power of that first

[5] *Athanasius* acknowledges it to be impious, to say that God the Father was necessitated to act, even when he begat the Son : And allows also that neither Son nor Holy Spirit are the first Cause ; but the Father alone, and that the Son and Holy Spirit were both caused. *Athan.* Vol. I. p. 512. *Id.* Vol. II. 442, 443.

Cause.

Cause. However, sure I am, that since I do exist, I exist as a separate and distinct Existence from God ; though not independent of him.

IV. And as my own Consciousness convinces me of my own Existence, so does the same Faculty convince me, that this Existence of mine is composed of two very different Kinds of Existence, that is, of a thinking, active, powerful Existence ; and a dull, heavy, inactive Existence. One of which, to wit, the active, we will, for Distinction sake, without entering into any further metaphysical Disputes about Words, call the spiritual Existence, Subsistence, or Substance; and the other, *viz.* the inactive, we will call the material or bodily Existence ; and sometimes, for Brevity sake, we will call one *Spirit*, and the other *Matter* or *Body*.

V. Wherein the Nature or Essence, either of this material or this spiritual Substance does consist, we are entirely ignorant ; for we know them only by the Effects or the Influence, which some of their Modes or Properties have upon our Minds. Thus, for Example, though we are capable of perceiving the Hardness, Colour, Figure, &c. of material Existences ; yet are we entirely ignorant, what it is that supports those Properties ; or wherein the Nature, Essence or Identity of *Body* does consist, when the Hardness, Figure, Colour, &c. is either altered or removed. In like Manner, we are equally ignorant of the Nature or Essence of Spirit : We know indeed some of the Properties thereof, such as, common Perception, Thinking, Willing, Doubting, &c. But we know not the Essence of that spiritual Being within us, which perceives, thinks, wills, or doubts, &c.

VI. And though we know not wherein the Nature or Essence, either of Body or Spirit does consist : yet we find by Experience, that is, from the Effects which we feel from within, and from without ourselves, that these two Kinds of Existences, of which the human

man Constitution is composed, have very different and inconsistent Properties: As for Example, that one has the Power of Motion in itself; whereas the other can neither put itself into Motion, nor put a Stop to its own Motions, when once begun; whence we reasonably conclude, that their Natures or Essence are also different

We likewise find, from Experience, that there is a Difference between necessary and voluntary Motion; and that some Agents have a Power of Beginning, varying, and putting a Stop to their own Motions *ad libitum*; while others invariably act after one regular, constant, and uniform Method of proceeding, equally and at all Times. And although it is not easy to determine the Boundaries between those two Species of Beings, the Gradation from the one to the other, in some Instances being so exceedingly exquisite, as for Example, between the vegetable and the animal Part of the Creation, as to render the Distinction hardly perceptible; yet sure we are of the Matter of Fact, *viz.* that there are some Beings, which are capable of voluntary Self-Motion; whereas we find, by Experience, that others are not: And since we find, by repeated Experiments, that that Kind of Existence, which we call *Matter*, is incapable of producing any Kind of Motion, either voluntary or involuntary, whenever we see any thing moved, we may fairly conclude the first Author, or Cause of that Motion, to be what we call *Spirit*.

VIII. It is beyond the Reach of human Abilities to explain, how these two different Kinds of Existence, the active and inactive, can have an Influence, or can possibly affect each other. When we see a Stone descend to the Ground, we are not much surpris'd, because it is common; but certain it is, that the original Cause of that Motion must be some Spirit or other; not only with regard to the Determination of that Motion, but also with regard to the whole *Momentum* of

of it : Since, as *Nothing can act where it is not*, that Power whereby any Body continues in Motion, is as much the Effect of some concomitant Spirit, as the Power which put it first in Motion.

IX. That Power also, whereby Matter is enabled to *resist* Motion, is as much the Effect of Spirit, as that whereby it is enabled to continue in Motion, when once communicated ; since Matter, as Matter, cannot possibly exert any active Power of any Kind, either in beginning, continuing, or resisting of Motion. It may remain at Rest, by virtue of its own Inactivity ; but if no active Power with-held it, a Mountain would be as easily moved as a Mole-hill. Because that Resistance, Weight, or Gravity, is occasioned by nothing else but the Tendency of one Body towards another, impelled thereto by the attractive Force of some Spirit. Which Tendency, or attractive Power, being in Proportion to the [6] Quantity of Matter, makes the Difference of Weight or Gravity in Bodies. When therefore this Tendency is removed, there will be no Difference in their Gravity ; because none of them, whether large or little, will have any at all : And of-Consequence, their Power of Resistance will be destroyed. Which plainly proves, that Resistance is something more than bare Inability, or a Want of a Power, or a Negation of Spirit, as the Author of [7] *Siris* asserts it only to be.

X. And as there can be no Motion, without a Direction or Determination being given to that Motion ; hence it will follow, that every Being, capable of moving, either itself, or any thing else, must also be

[6] *Hactenus phaenomena Cœlorum & Maris nostri per vim Gravitatis exposui ; sed causam Gravitatis nondum assignavi. Oritur utique hæc Vis a Causa aliqua, quæ penetrat ad usque Centra Solis & Planetarum sine Virtutis diminutione ; quæque agit, non pro quantitate Superficierum Particularum in quas agit, (ut solent causæ mechanicæ) sed pro quantitate materiæ solidæ. Newt. Prin. Scol. gen. p. 482.*

[7] *Siris*, Sect. 290.

endowed with an *Intellect*, or Understanding, capable of directing that Motion. And as nothing can act where it is not, hence also it is that Attraction, or Gravity, does not operate in proportion to the Superficies of Bodies, but according to the Quantity of Matter ; because every, even the least Particle of active, or attractive Matter, must be directed in its Motions by some Spirit, united to that Matter, which may have just such a Quantity of Intellect communicated to it by its Creator, as will enable it to perform those Functions, which are assigned it by its Creator, in order to carry on the general Oeconomy of this Universe.

Which Functions, all active Beings that are not endowed with a Freedom of Will, must constantly and regularly perform, whenever there is an Opportunity given them of exerting those Faculties. And therefore, if they are appointed to perform the Operations of *Attraction* and *Repulsion*, they must, as necessary Agents, always *attract* or *repel* at certain Distances, and according to certain and stated Rules, prescribed by their Creator ; and will never vary in their Tendency towards this Body, or their Aversion from that ; but will for ever act in one uniform Way of attracting or repelling the same Bodies, and in one regular, constant Method of Proceeding. From the Observance of which Operations, those Rules, which are called the Laws of Motion, are deduced by the Curious.

XI. All Nature, therefore, seems to be animated, or alive ; and this whole World to be replete with *Spirits* formed with different Kinds and Degrees of Abilities, according to the various Ends and Uses, for which they were designed by their Creator. The Difference of whose intellectual Faculties may not only consist in the Difference of their original Formation as Spirits ; but also in the different Inlets for Knowledge, thro' the Tegument of that Body to which they are united, and by which the Spirit within is capable of receiving any Kind of Information, for the Improvement of its own Understanding.

But

But if the Almighty is pleased to add a *Liberty of Will* to this active Intellect, and create Spirits endowed with a Power of *Voluntary Motion*, then it seems necessary that Almighty God should confer also upon such intelligent Spirits, such Faculties and Powers, as would enable them to be capable of perceiving Pleasure or Pain; since nothing else, but a Sense of one or other of these, seems capable of determining the *Will* to act. For if the Sensation of Pleasure or Pain be removed from the Will, there can be no Reason or Cause for it to prefer one Motion to another, and of consequence, no Direction or Determination.

XII. And hence may be deduced the following Observations: That to such a Being every thing may be called *Good*, that giveth Pleasure; and every thing *Evil*, that produceth Pain. The highest Pleasure, which any Being is capable of enjoying, may be called its *Happiness*; and the highest Pain, *Misery*. Now as the Use of all Pain is to determine our Motions, so that when we feel or fear Pain, we may be thereby excited to new Actions, for our own Preservation and Delight; hence it appears, that *Evil* takes its *Origin* from the Goodness of God, in which it will also be finally absorbed, when Pain shall be no more. The Will cannot be at Liberty to chuse Evil as Evil. But as Pain may be productive of Pleasure, or Pleasure be productive of Pain, hence it comes to pass, that free Agents, by being deceived, thro' their Ignorance or Passions, may chuse Evil under the Appearance of Good; and herein consists human Freedom; not in the Power of chusing Evil, but in the Power of chusing what seems Good from among a Variety of *Good*, whether real or apparent: And herein lies the Difference between the Freedom of God and of Man; that as fallible Men may chuse an apparent Good, instead of a real one, they, by being liable to be deceived, are free by that Means, to chuse Evil, instead of Good: Whereas God, who cannot be deceived, is only free to chuse out of that infinite Variety

Variety of real Good, which his Will and his Wisdom may dictate. — And, lastly, That Virtue, Wisdom, Prudence, &c. in Mankind, may be considered only as various Names, for the several Powers given to them, and the different Methods used by them in the Attainment of Happiness, and avoiding of Misery. And hence also Self-love may be looked upon, in Nature, as the Principle of all voluntary Action; and the Foundation of all *Morality*.

XIII. We find, by Experience, that there are some voluntary self-moving Beings here upon Earth, which have but one or two Methods of furnishing their Minds with the Sense of Pleasure, or of Pain; others have three; others four; others five; which are commonly known by the Name of *Senses*; to which rational Beings have one more added, which is that of inward Reflection. And therefore the Author of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, speaking of the Formation of Mankind, says [8], *They received the Use of the five Operations of the Lord, and in the sixth Place he imparted to them Understanding.*

XIV. But let their Number be never so various, they may, in general, be reduced to these two. First, those Methods of Information, which the Mind of any Being, composed of Body and Spirit, is capable of being affected with, by the Intervention of the Senses; which furnish the Mind with such Ideas as may be called the *Ideas of Sensation*, because they are conveyed to the Mind through the Organs of Sensation. Or, secondly, those Methods of Information, which the Spirit of any self-moving Agent is capable of being affected with, by its own reflex Acts upon itself; by the Means of which, the Mind is furnished with such Ideas, as may properly be called *Ideas of Reflection*.

[8] Eccles xvii. 6.

XV. And indeed, it is in these reflex Acts of the human Spirit, that is, in the Power which the human Spirit is endowed with, first, in perceiving its own internal Operations in Thinking ; and, secondly, in being able to turn back its perceptive Faculty to its past perceptions, that the chief Difference seems to consist, between the Spirit of Man, and the Spirit of Brutes ; or between the Rational, and that which is commonly called the Animal, Creation.

XVI. By the Assistance, however, of these two Faculties, that is, of *Sensation* and *Reflection*, the Spirit of Man is furnished with all those Ideas, which fill the human Mind ; and supply it with Objects of *intellectual*, as well as sensual Pleasures. The latter of which it is, that strikes us soonest and strongest, as being most necessary for the immediate Use, and Preservation of Life. And accordingly we find, that the human Mind requires a kind of Ripening, before it is capable of making any reflex Acts upon its own Operations, or having any Relish for intellectual Pleasures. Upon which Account it must be acknowledged to have been one great Advantage, which *Adam* had over all his Posterity, that his intellectual Faculties came with him into the World in their full Force ; by which Means he was free from that Bias in favour of sensual Pleasures, which all his Offspring have, ever since, necessarily laboured under, by an Habit of being indulged in sensual Gratifications, from their Infancy, till they come to a Maturity of Judgment ; during which whole Time, the human Will hath no Relish for any Pleasures, but such as enter in by the Senses.

XVII. The Spirit of Man, therefore, being furnished with Ideas by the Operation of the two Faculties of *Sensation* and *Reflection* ; when the Mind begins to operate a-new, its Operations are called by different Names, according to the different Use it makes of those Ideas. For when the Spirit retains any Ideas
in

in View, and collates, or compares, them together, this Act of the Spirit is called *Thinking*. The Continuation of which Act is called *Attention*. When it deposits its Ideas in the Store-House, or Treasury, of the Mind, for future Recollection, and produces them back, upon Occasion, in the same Manner as they were deposited; this Act is called *Memory*: But when it varies, alters, and compounds them, so that they are not the same, as when deposited; this Act is called *Imagination*.

XVIII. When the Spirit, by collating and comparing Ideas together, finds out the Agreement, or Disagreement, of those Ideas; this Operation produceth *Knowledge*, and is, by the Logicians, called *Judgment*: But when the Spirit is mistaken in this Operation, and imagines Ideas to have an Agreement, which have no Agreement, and, *vice versa*, this Operation produceth *Error*.

XIX. When this Agreement, or Disagreement, of Ideas strikes the Mind at once, without the Intervention of any third Idea, to prove their Agreement, or Disagreement with one another; this is *intuitive Knowledge*: Which is so called, from its Resemblance to the Information, which the Mind receives by the Sensation of Sight; because it perceives those Kinds of Truth, as the Eye does Light, only by being directed to them: The Objects of which are those Propositions, that are called *self-evident Truths*: Such as, that two and two make four; that the Whole is greater than a Part; that Happiness is preferable to Misery, &c. which the Mind cannot but assent to, as soon as it is made to understand the Meaning of those Terms, and which can no more be proved, or demonstrated, than simple Ideas can be defined; as being themselves the Foundation of all Knowledge and Demonstration.

XX. But when the Mind is employed in a more complicated Operation, that is, in comparing together

those *Relations*, or this Knowledge which we have acquired of the Agreement, or Disagreement of our Ideas; or, which is the same thing, when the Mind, by comparing the Propositions, which result from the Agreement, or Disagreement, of our Ideas, from thence deduces certain *Conclusions*; this Operation of the Spirit, is called *Reasoning*.

The Necessity and Laboriousness of which Operation, in order to arrive at Truth, shews the Imperfection of human Nature; since we find, by Experience, that there is but a very small Part of Knowledge, which is so self-evident to us, as to be *intuitive*. Whereas Beings of a superior Nature, have, probably, their intuitive Knowledge enlarged, in proportion to the Excellency of their Natures: By which Means, those Degrees of Knowledge, which human Beings are groping after, by long and tedious Deductions of Reason, are open, at once, to the Eyes of their Understanding, and strike them, at once, with an intuitive View; which is always the more extensive, in proportion to the Excellency of their Natures.

XXI. And hence it is, that [9] *Plato*, speaking of human Abilities in the Investigation of Truth, calls it, *beholding Things in the Glass of Reason*: Which he explains, by saying, That as they who contemplate an Eclipse of the Sun, lose the Sight of it, unless they are so careful as to view its Reflexion in Water, or to look at it through some Medium, such as thick Glass; so the Eye of an human Spirit is too weak to find out Truth, unless it looks at it through the Medium of Reason; which *St. Paul* also calls [1] *seeing through a Glass darkly*.

XXII. We do indeed see through a Glass darkly, by the Means of this Tegument of Flesh; this earthly Tabernacle, that encompasseth our Spirit: Since

[9] *Plato* in *Phædo*.

[1] 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

it is manifest, that the intelligent Spirit within Man is, in itself, endowed with Faculties, greatly superior to those Powers it exerciseth in the human Understanding; and performs many Operations within us, and upon us, that are not only above our Power to direct, but above our Understanding to comprehend. That Power, which is constantly working within us, to form and preserve the regular Disposition of our bodily Organs, and to change the Food which we eat, into Blood, into Flesh, and into Bones; and which, according to the Naturalists, is said always to work most powerfully, when the human Understanding is asleep, is manifestly above our Comprehension.

XXIII. It is a common Observation, that when the Belly is full, the Bones would be at rest; which seems entirely owing to this, that the Spirit being unmolested with human Cogitations, and its Attendance upon our Will, may be more at leisure to pursue those Operations, which are immediately necessary towards our Preservation. For that it is the same wise Agent, which operates in the Digestion of our Food, and that enables us to put in Execution the Directions of our Will, appears from hence, that when we have a Mind to move a Finger, or a Leg, that Part of the human Understanding, which is under our Direction, is capable of doing no more than the Power of willing it; but how to perform this Action, it is as ignorant of as the Beast in the Field.

XXIV. Which Operation of the Spirit, is that which is known by the Name of *Instinct*, and goes through the whole Creation. It is by *Instinct* that the minutest Particles of Matter attract or repel each other: It is by *Instinct* that the Flower of the Field, which out-does *Solomon* in all his Glory, is directed in throwing forth its Leaves and its Flowers, and forming its Fruit in due Season: It is by *Instinct* that the Birds of the Air build their Nests; and the Beasts of

the Field provide for themselves and their Young, with a Sagacity superior to the Directions of human Wisdom.

XXV. Whether the Spirits of all created Beings, or even of all Beings of the same Species, are equally perfect, is a Question not very easy to determine; because, though we find, by Experience, a vast Difference, between the Understandings of Men, not only with regard to their improved, but also their natural Abilities; yet this may arise, not from any Difference between the Spirits of Men, but from the different Formation of their bodily Organs; which may have that Influence upon their Spirit, as sufficiently to account for the Difference of their Understandings: Since we frequently see bodily Distempers, such as Frenzies and Fevers, make such an Alteration in the Understanding, as to reduce Men, at other Times of good and sensible Dispositions at least, to the Level, with Madmen and Idiots.

XXVI. And therefore we cannot be positive, but that all created Spirits, may only differ, according to the different Combinations of that material System, with which they are circumscribed, and in which they are enclosed, by the great Author of Nature. For, as Extension seems to be a Property peculiar to material Substance, it may be, that all created Spirits do not only owe their Shape, and the Limits of their Existence, to Matter, but also the Extent of those Faculties, which they are permitted to exert. And that the same Spirit, which, when cloathed with one Set of material Organs, is only capable of exerting its Intelligence in the Performance of Attraction or Repulsion, and when jarring Elements meet, breaks forth in Thunder and Lightning, and Earthquakes, or any other mechanical Operations, may, when united to a different Set of Organs, of a more exquisite and delicate Contexture, be capable of exercising voluntary Motion, may be enabled to think and to reason, to
ope-

operate in Love or Hatred, and, when provoked by Opposition, may be agitated with Anger and Resentment, and break forth in Quarrels, Contention, and War

XXVII. What other Spirits there are in the Universe, beside those which belong to this terraqueous Globe, and how or when they came into Existence, human Understandings are not capable of pointing out: But more than probable it is, that the great Expanse is full of Spirits of different Ranks and Degrees, from the lowest Power of Activity to the highest Degree of Perfection, which it is possible for created Spirits to be possessed of.

XXVIII. To what Degree of Perfection Spirits are capable of being created, human Knowledge cannot possibly determine: But certain it is, that the Degree must be limited in every Being, but God alone; and that God cannot create or produce any Being, equal in Power to, or independent on, himself; because two All-powerfuls, two Supremes, would imply a Contradiction.

XXIX. We may, however, easily suppose, that God may communicate to the Works of his Hands, such Portions of his own Attributes, as are greatly beyond the Comprehension of Mankind to conceive: Because God can do every Thing that does not imply a Contradiction. For, as a blind Man cannot apprehend how a Shepherd, from the Top of an Hill, can preside over several Flocks of Sheep, wandering about, at a Distance from each other; how he knows when they stray, or how, by the Help of his Eyesight, he can be, as it were, omnipresent: So a Man of the greatest Abilities may, for want of Faculties, be unable to conceive that Power, whereby a created intelligent Agent, of superior Qualifications to those communicated to Mankind, can be enabled to see in Darkness as well as Light; to know the inmost Recesses and Thoughts of Men's Hearts; to preside at

once over such a World as this which we inhabit, and where two or three are gathered together, there to be also invisible in the midst of them: And yet such a Power may certainly be communicated, because it implies no Contradiction.

XXX. In like Manner, therefore, as we see Mankind furnished with Abilities to contrive and form several Machines of wonderful Force and Efficacy; to build Houses and Ships, make Clocks and Watches, and govern Kingdoms: So there seems to be no Contradiction, in supposing that God might communicate so much Power to one of his own Creatures, of a more exalted Nature than Man, as to enable him to create inferior Beings, and frame a World of his own, composed of intelligent Agents: Which Power however must be limited, and must be dependent on the Supreme Being.

XXXI. And as the Almighty God is the only supreme, infinite, unlimited Being in the Universe; so is he, probably, the only unembodied Spirit that exists: That is, the only Spirit which is not limited, clogged, and fettered with some Kind, or Degree, of inactive Matter, which may serve to give a Form and Shape, or Boundary, to its spiritual Nature. For [2] *there are Bodies celestial, and Bodies terrestrial; but the Glory of the celestial is one, and the Glory of the terrestrial is another.* And as we know not what the Essence of that inactive Principle is, which we call *Matter*, we cannot say, to what exquisite Degrees of Perfection its Properties are reducible, or what Improvement it is capable of receiving; but that some [3] Spirits may

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 40.

[3] Most of the ancient Fathers supposed the Angels to have Bodies. See Clemens Alex. *Pædag.* xli. p. 101. as also Huetii *Origéniana*, lib. ii. c. 2, 5. *Tertullian* was so absurd, as to suppose even God to have a Body, *Tert. de carne Christi*, cap. 11. which, I suppose, he borrowed from the old Platonic Notion of God being the Soul of the World. But this God, he ought to have confi-

be furnished with Bodies of so delicate a Texture, that they may *cloath themselves with Light, as it were with a Garment, may make the Clouds their Chariots, and walk upon the Wings of the Wind*: By the organical Disposition of which Bodies, the Spirits united thereto may be capable of receiving and communicating to each other Ideas of bodily Pain and bodily Pleasure, as well as intellectual Pain and intellectual Pleasure; may have their Affections and their Passions as well as we; their Friendships and Animosities; their Wars and Alliances; none of which, however, we can form any real Idea, or Notion of, for Want of the same Kind of Senses, which they are furnished with; any more than a deaf Man can of Sounds, or a blind Man can of Light and Colours.

XXXII. And, as to the Time when they were created, we are as ignorant of that, as we are of their Natures. But probable it is, that as God is an active Spirit, for *God is a Spirit*, and hath existed from all Eternity, he hath been constantly employed in exerting this active Faculty; and therefore may have created some intelligent Beings, from such a distant Duration of Time, as we can no otherwise describe but by calling it *eternal*. For to imagine that there are no Spirits in the wide Expanse of Space, but what have Reference to this terraqueous Globe, this Speck of Matter, on which Mankind are placed, or even this planetary System, which is visible to human Eyes; and that no Worlds, filled with intelligent Spirits, were created till about 6000 Years ago; about which Time, both Reason and Revelation agree, that this Ball of Earth began to revolve about the Sun, is a Thought unworthy of a Philosopher, and inconsistent with the Infinity of God's Power, as well as with the Eternity of his Existence.

dered, was not supposed to be the Supreme God. See Plato in *Timæo*: See also Virg. *Æneid*. lib. vi. 721.

XXXIII. And

XXXIII. And yet we ought to take Notice, that in the Language of the Scriptures, both in the Old and New Testament, when the *Creation* is spoken of, it is only to be considered as referring to the Creation of this World, in which there is no Mention made of the Creation of Angels, or of any other Beings, because it would have been foreign to the Purpose: And that therefore, St. *John* begins his Gospel with the same Expression that *Moses* does; *In the Beginning*, i. e. of this World. For when we speak of any Beings, which existed before this World was created, having no Measures of Time, whereby to denote, or distinguish the different Durations of their Existence, we must equally say of them all, that they existed [4] *in the Beginning*, or *before the World was*, or *of old*, or *from Everlasting*. See Sect. L. LI. LII.

XXXIV. And as God may communicate what Proportions he pleases of his Attributes, to the different Gradations of created Beings, with which he hath been pleased to fill the Universe: Each of these, with regard to Beings of their own Species, may have such Faculties and Properties communicated to them, as may render them knowable to each other. But, with regard to Beings of a different Nature, those of a superior, or more excellent Kind, may not be cognisable by Beings of an inferior Order; though Beings of an inferior Kind may be easily cognisable to those of a more exalted Nature; the Properties of the one being of too exquisite and delicate a Frame and Contexture, to affect the Perception, or strike the Senses of the other. And hence it is, that human Beings may be surrounded with Myriads of spiritual Agents, without ever being sensible thereof; unless those superior Beings are pleased to assume such Forms, and condescend to furnish themselves with such Qua-

[4] Gen. i. 1. John i. 1. xvii. 5. Psal. cii. 5. Prov. viii. 22, 23. Micah v. 2.

fications, as are capable of making an Impression on the human Spirit from within, or the human Senses from without.

XXXV. *Hesiod*, one of the first *Heathen* Authors extant, supposeth Myriads of invisible Spirits cloathed in Air, attending upon this terrestrial Globe, and employed as *Angels*, that is, *Messengers*, between the great God and Mankind, observing their Actions, and reporting them to *Jupiter*. And [5] *Plato* says, that “*Saturn* well knowing there was no Man who
“ could have absolute Empire over others, without
“ abandoning himself to all Kinds of Violence and
“ Injustice, subjected the Nations not to Men, but
“ to more noble and excellent Beings, as their Lords
“ and Governors; namely to [6] *Dæmons*, or *intelligent Spirits*, of a more divine and better Nature
“ than themselves, after the same Manner as we deal
“ with our Cattle: For, as we do not set a Bull over
“ a whole Herd of his own Kind, nor a Goat to govern a Flock of Goats; but put those of both
“ Kinds under the Conduct of a Man; so God,
“ who loves Mankind, placed them, at first, under
“ the Conduct of Angels.”

XXXVI. The [7] *Greeks*, it is certain, and *Plato*, in particular, borrowed many of their theological Sentiments from the *Hebrews*; among whom this, of a Number of invisible Spirits attending upon this Globe of Earth, and presiding over States and Kingdoms, was certainly one. For the Opinion of the *Jews* upon this Head was, that Almighty God, the

[5] *Plato*, *de Leg.* lib. iv.

[6] Ἀλλὰ γένος θεοσιώτερον καὶ ἀμείνονος, Δαίμωνος. By the Word *Dæmon*, we are not to understand *Evil-Spirits*, as it hath been vulgarly thought to mean; but rather *happy* ones, the Word Δαίμων, *Dæmon*, originally signifying *happy*. But as those Spirits to which the *Heathen* gave the Appellation of *happy*, have been deemed by *Christians* to be rather unhappy and evil Spirits; therefore this Word is generally misapplied.

[7] See *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* p. 507.

first Author and Creator of all Things, was of so transcendent a Nature, that, before he created Beings of the lowest Rank, he produced an infinite Variety of Beings, in a gradual Descent, which were still greater and superior to others, who yet were employed by him to act in a middle Station, between him and the lowest Productions of his Almighty Power. The Septuagint Translation of the Bible therefore renders that Passage in the Song of *Moses*, which is mentioned, *Deut.* xxxii. 8, 9. after this Manner: *Ask thy Father, and he will shew thee; thy Elders, and they will tell thee: When the Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance; When he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Angels of God, and the Lord's Portion is his People Jacob, the [8] Line of his Inheritance Israel.* And the wise Son of *Sirach* saith [9], *For in the Division of the Nations of the whole Earth, God set a Ruler (or Governing Angel) over every People; but Israel is the Lord's Portion.* The Jews accordingly supposed some of these Angels to have been appointed as Guardian or Governing Spirits [1], over the several Nations of the Earth; and that the Portion of *Israel* was particularly committed to the Care of that Being, who is here denoted by the Name of *the Lord*.

XXXVII. It ought to be acknowledged, however, that the Words here quoted out of the Book of *Deuteronomy*, as rendered by the Septuagint, do not exactly agree with the *Hebrew* Copy of the Bible. For, according to the *Hebrew*, it should run thus: *When the Most High divided the Nations, when he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Children of Israel, and Je-*

[8] Or *Boundary*. See 1 Cor. x. 16.

[9] *Ecclus* xvii. 17.

[1] It appears also from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that this was the Opinion of the *Christian* Church in his Time. See *Clem. Alex. Strom.* p. 309, 822, 828, 830, 832. Edit. *Oxon.* Pot.

HOVAH's *Portion is his People: Jacob is the Lot of his Inheritance.* But it should be observed, that although this Separation, or Dispersion of the Sons of *Adam*, this settling the Bounds of the Nations, was a Transaction which came to pass long before *Israel* had any Children to number, or was even himself in Being; yet the Commentators have taken much Pains to reconcile this Text with the Matter of Fact; and to make the Number of the various Nations upon Earth, agree with the Number of the Children of *Israel*; which, nevertheless, they have not been able to accomplish: For, if the Number of the Children of *Israel* be computed by the Number of his immediate Descendents, which were only thirteen, *viz.* twelve Sons, and one Daughter; this Number would be too few for the Number of Nations dispersed over the Earth; and if all the Descendents of *Israel* be taken into the Account, then the Number will be infinitely too large. As therefore the reading of this Text according to the Septuagint Version, is supported by that Passage, already quoted, out of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, as well as by other Parts of the Old Testament; and corresponds with the general Opinion of the most learned antient *Jews*: I am inclined to prefer the Septuagint Version of this Text, to the present Reading in our *Hebrew Bible*.

XXXVIII. And what adds no small Weight with me in this Affair, is an Expression made use of by [2] *St. Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, where, speaking of the second coming of our Saviour, when he shall appear in a State of Glory, manifestly superior to Angels, he says, *For unto the Angels hath he not put in Subjection the World to come, of which we speak.* Whence it seems to appear, that it was *St. Paul's* Opinion, that this present World had been put in Subjection to Angels.

[2] Heb. ii. 5.

XXXIX. Which Opinion is also confirmed by St. *Jude*, who seems to attribute the Error of the fallen Angels, who *sinned* as St. *Peter* expresseth it, to their Misconduct in the government of those Provinces which were allotted to their Charge. For, says he, Ἀγγέλους τε τὰς μὴ τηρέσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας, δεσμοῖς αἰδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφου τετήρηκεν. *The Angels which kept not their Principalities with due Care; but neglected the proper Provinces, he (God) hath reserved in everlasting Chains under Darknes*: For so this Verse ought to be translated. The Verb τηρέω, which we translate *kept*, signifying the keeping of a thing with Care and Diligence: In which Sense it is used, when it is applied in the Septuagint to the (4) keeping the Commandments of God, and keeping our own Hearts, and our Ways. And in *Canticles* vii. 11, 12. it is used to denote the *Keepers* of a Vineyard, who were to dress it, and cultivate it. And as to the Word Ἀρχή, that is generally used by the Septuagint to denote a *Principality*, as the Word is rendered in the Margin of our *English Bible*. And it is to be observed, that it is the Word Ἀρχων and Ἀρχοντες, which *Daniel* gives to those ruling Angels, which are said, in the Book of [5] *Daniel*, to preside over the Realms of *Græcia*, *Persia* and *Israel*. The Word ἀπολείπω, which our Translation renders *left*, is frequently applied by the Septuagint, to denote the leaving or neglecting any business, which it was our Duty to have pursued; as when [6] *Baasha* is said to have *left off building Ramah*, and let his Work cease; and when *Solomon* blameth the [7] *strange Woman*, for FORSAKING the Guide of her Youth. The Word οἰκητήριον, though it properly signifies a *Dwelling-place*, in general, yet it is not confined to signify a House, nor even a Province, or larger Space of

[3] 2 Pet. ii. 4. [4] 1 Sam. xv. 11. Prov. iii. 1. 21. iv. 23. viii. 34. [5] Dan. x. 13, 20, 21. xii. 1. [6] 2 Chron. xvi. 5. [7] Prov. ii. 17.

Ground ; but is by the Prophet [8] *Jeremiah* applied to denote the wide Extent of God's holy Habitation in Heaven ; However, it is here restrained by the Word ἱδίου, to denote the proper and peculiar Provinces of these Angels, which they may be supposed to have been employed in the Conduct and Management of ; and accordingly the Word οἰκέτης denotes such a Domestick as is employed in the Business of the House, and is always used by the Septuagint to signify a [9] *Servant*. And therefore this Expression of Ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἱδίον οἰκητήριον, may very well be understood to signify their forsaking, or neglecting, their proper Business, or Provinces, that were given into their Charge by God.

XL. As for the Opinion of the more modern *Jews*, it is no easy Matter to collect or fix their Sentiments ; because that, since the coming of our Saviour, the *Jews*, not being willing to abide by the Exposition given to the Prophecies in the Old Testament, by the *Christians*, or even by their own ancient Paraphrasts, made a Collection of their oral Traditions, which they gathered together into one Book, which they called the *Talmud* : And finding many seeming Contradictions in the literal Interpretation of those Texts of Scripture, which were universally allowed by the ancient *Jews* to refer to their Messiah, and not being willing to expound them of different Advents of one and the same Person ; the one in a State of Humiliation, and the other in a State of Glory ; the one in this World, and the other in the next ; they then ran into numberless absurd Contrivances, of expounding the Scriptures by a cabalistical Method of Interpretation, in finding out mysterious and hidden Meanings, not only in the Sentences and Words of Scripture, but also in the very Letters themselves, as well as in the Number of Letters, of which those Words are composed : And, by this Means, the Learning of

[8] Jer. xxv. 30. [9] Gen. ix. 25. xxvii. 37. xliv. 33, &c.

the more modern *Jews* is reduced into such a nonsensical Jargon of Sounds, without Sense, as makes their Works infinitely tiresome in the Perusal. And therefore, rather than fatigue my Reader with an Account of such Trifles, I shall chuse to lay before him the Opinion of the most sensible and learned among the ancient *Jews*, as I find it collected very judiciously, by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, who must be allowed to be a tolerable Judge, because he lived amongst them in the Land of *Judea*.

XLI. [1] “ The *Jews*, says he, after that Essence
 “ of the All-powerful God, who had neither Beginning nor Origin, place that [2] *Head* or *Chief*,
 “ which was begotten of the Father, and therefore
 “ was his First-born. Which, as he is the Coad-
 “ jutor of his Council, is therefore called the Image of
 “ his Father. Which *Chief*, as he far exceeds all created Beings, is for this Reason called *the Image of*
 “ *God*, the *Wisdom of God*, the *Logos*, or *Word of God*,
 “ the *Prince of the Lord’s Host*, and the *Angel of his*
 “ *Council*. As to those Intelligences, which come after this *Chief*, they are of such various and different
 “ Forms, that human Expressions cannot denote
 “ them, but by Comparison and Analogy to those
 “ Things which are the Objects of our Senses ; as the
 “ Sun, the Moon, the Stars, and the Heaven, which
 “ encloseth all Things. As the divine Apostle does,
 “ when he says, *There is one Glory of the Sun, and another*
 “ *Glory of the Moon, and another Glory of the Stars,*
 “ *for one Star differeth from another Star in Glory.* In
 “ like Manner, must we think of the Subordination
 “ of unbodied, intelligent, Beings. For, as the ineffable and infinite Power of God (*like Heaven*) com-

[1] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 15.

[2] Ἀρχὴ, which Word is sometimes used by the Authors of the Septuagint Version of the Bible, instead of Ἀρχων, to denote the *Head* or *Chief* of any Society, or collective Body of Men. See *Exod.* vi. 25.

“ prehends all Things ; in the second Place comes the
 “ operating and illuminating Power of the divine *Lo-*
 “ *gos* ; for which Reason he is called by the *Hebrews*,
 “ the *Light*, and the [3] *Sun of Justice* : Then, after
 “ this [4] second Essence, as it were in the Place of
 “ the *Moon*, comes the *Holy Spirit*, which they place
 “ in this royal Dignity, and Degree of [5] *Princi-*
 “ *pality* ; because it is the Will of the great Architect
 “ to appoint him to the Principality of those inferior
 “ Beings, which may want his Assistance. Who
 “ therefore, obtaining the third Place, confers on
 “ those who are inferior to him, those excellent Vir-
 “ tues, which he himself received from another, to
 “ wit, from the divine *Logos*, his Better and Superior ;
 “ who we before said was the second to the supreme,
 “ unbegotten, and Almighty, God.—So, says he, all
 “ the *Hebrew Divines*, after that God, who is over
 “ all, and after his first-born Wisdom, pay [6] di-
 “ vine Worship to the third and holy Power, which
 “ they call the Holy Spirit, by which they themselves
 “ are illuminated, when they are divinely inspired.”

XLII. In another Place, [7] *Eusebius*, in explain-
 ing the Sentiments of the *Jews*, says, that, “ as
 “ *Milesius* made a second Principle of *Water* ; *Heracli-*
 “ *tus* of *Fire* ; and *Pythagoras* of *Numbers*, &c. so the
 “ *Jews* made a second Essence of the *Logos*, which
 “ was begotten by the *First Cause*.”

XLIII. And in another Place, [8] *Eusebius* quotes
 a Passage of *Philo Judæus*, wherein that Aurhor calls
 the *Logos*, the [9] *Second God*, in whose Image Man
 was created. And again, where he calls this *Logos*,
 The first-born Son of God, to whom God had com-
 mitted the Care of all Things, [1] *as a great King ap-*
points a Minister, or Viceroy, to act under him.

[3] Mal. iv. 2. which *Philo Judæus* interprets of the *Messiah*.

[4] Δευτέραν οὐσίαν. [5] Ἀρχῆς. [6] Αποθεάζειν.

[7] Euseb. *Præp. Evan.* lib. vii. cap. 12. [8] Euseb. *Præp.*

Evang. lib. vii. cap. 13. [9] Δεύτερον θεόν. [1] Οἷα τις μεγάλῃς
 βασιλείῃς ὑπαρχῶν ἀγδεχέσθαι.

XLIV. And, in another Place, [2] he quotes *Philo*, for calling this *Second Cause the Image of God, the first-born Logos, the most ancient of Angels, and, as it were, the Archangel, subsisting with many Names.* For says *Philo*, He is called the [3] *Chief, the Name of God, the Logos, the Image, and the [4] Overseer, Visitor, or Regarder of Israel.*

XLV. I am very sensible, that some learned Men are of Opinion, that these were only the Sentiments of the *Jews* belonging to *Palestine* and *Egypt*; but if we look into those Books, which contain the Doctrines, which all *Jews* either do, or ought to profess, that is, the Scriptures of the Old Testament, we shall find that there is great Foundation for the aforementioned Opinions of the *Jews*, with regard to Angels; and for all these Appellations, which are here given to this *secondary Essence*, who is, by *Philo*, very justly called *the Archangel with many Names.* For the Prophet [5] *Daniel* declares, that the Angel *Gabriel*, having touched him, and spoken to him, said, that he was *come to make him understand what should befall his People in the latter Days*, and that he would have come sooner, but that [6] *the Prince (or ruling or governing Angel) of the Kingdom of Persia withstood him one and twenty Days, till Michael, one of the chief Princes, or, as the Hebrew expresseth it, the FIRST PRINCE, came to help him.* And again the Angel says, *And now I will return to fight against the Prince of Persia, and when I am gone forth, lo the Prince of Græcia shall come. But I will shew thee what is noted in the Scripture of Truth; and there is none that holdeth with me in these Things, but MICHAEL your Prince.* And a little afterwards he calleth *MICHAEL the great Prince which standeth for the Children of Israel.*

[2] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. xi. cap. 15. Περὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ αἰτίῳ.

[3] Ἀρχὴ. [4] Ὁ ὁρῶν Ἰσραὴλ. [5] Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21.

x. 13, 20, 21. xii. 1. [6] Heb. מַלְאָכִים Sept. Ἀγγέλων. *Simmias*, the Disciple of *Socrates*, in *Plato's Phædo*, speaking of Guardian Angels, calls them Δεσπότας, i. e. *Lords, or Governors.*

Or, as *Philo* would have expressed it, ὁ ὀρῶν Ἰσραήλ : *He that regardeth, or is the Guardian Angel of, Israel.*

XLVI. And correspondent hereto the Septuagint Translation of the Bible, as before quoted, renders that Passage in the Song of *Moses*, which is mentioned, *Deut. xxxii. 8, 9, Ask thy Father, and he will shew thee ; thy Elders, and they will tell thee : When the Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance ; when he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Angels of God, and the LORD's Portion is his People Jacob, the Line of his Inheritance Israel.* Upon which Words *Eusebius* has this Remark.

[7] “ By the Words *the Most High*, *Moses* denotes the “ Father, who is God over all ; and by *the Lord*, he “ means the *Logos*, who is called *Lord*, as being, “ with regard to us, next to that God who is over all. “ But, says he, all Nations whom he calls the Sons “ of *Adam*, were, for Reasons to us unsearchable, distributed according to the Will of the Most High, “ to Governing and Guardian Angels, who elude our “ Sight. But to the most eminent Governor, Ruler, “ and King of all, as to his only Son, he allots the “ Government of *Jacob*, or *Israel*.” And in this Interpretation he is supported by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who says positively, that [8] *Angels were appointed by God to preside over Nations and Cities : That [9] they are his Ministers in the Government of terrestrial Affairs ; and, [1] in particular, that they were by his Command distributed among the Nations, &c.*

XLVII. Wence it is manifest, that, according to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, Angels were appointed to preside over People and Nations upon Earth, and that one Angel, in particular, who is called, by *Moses* [2], *Jehovah*, and by the Septuagint is translated *the Lord*, had *Israel* assigned to him by

[7] *Euseb. Dem. Evang. lib. iv. cap. 7.* [8] *Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi. p. 822. Edit. Pot.* [9] *Id. ibid. lib. vii. p. 839.*
[1] *Id. ibid. p. 832.* [2] See Sect. xxxvii.

the *Most High*, as the Portion of his Inheritance ; and therefore may very reasonably be supposed to be the same Person with that *first Prince*, mentioned by *Daniel*, whom he also calleth *MICHAEL*, the great Prince which standeth for the Children of Israel ; and with that Archangel with many Names, whom *Philo* calls the *Regarder of Israel*.

XLVIII. And what is remarkable, is this, that this Name of *Michael*, which is given by *Daniel* to this Archangel, literally signifies [3] *who is like God* ; and accordingly *Philo* observes, that one of the Names belonging to this Archangel, was the *Image of God*. Which Image [4] he calleth the *Logos* and the *second God*, and supposed Man to have been made in the Image of this Image ; Because, says he, “ nothing “ mortal can be formed in the Image of the Supreme “ God, the Father of all Things.”

XLIX. Which *Logos*, or *Word of God*, is, in the *Book of Wisdom*, manifestly spoken of, as the Guardian Angel of *Israel* ; where the Author of that elegant Work, in describing the [5] Angel, who was sent to rescue them from their *Egyptian* Bondage, by destroying the First-born of the *Egyptians*, says : For [6] *while all Things were in quiet Silence, and that Night was in the Midst of her swift Course, thine Almighty WORD leapt down from Heaven, out of thy royal Throne, as a fierce Man of War into the Midst of a Land of Destruction, and brought thy unfeigned Commandment, as a sharp Sword, and standing up, filled all Things with Death, and it touched the Heaven, but it stood upon the Earth*. And therefore also the *Jerusalem Targum* on *Exod. xii. 23*. where it is said in the *Hebrew*, *And JEHOVAH will pass through to smite the Egyptians*, paraphrases it by saying, *And*

[3] The Word *Michael*, being derived from the three *Hebrew* Words, *Mi*, which signifies *who* ; *Cha*, which signifies *so*, or *like*, or *the same* ; and *El*, which signifies *God*. [4] *Euseb. Præp.*

Evan. lib. vii. cap. 13.

[5] *Exod. xxiii. 21.*

[6] *Wisd.*

xviii. 13—16.

the WORD OF JEHOVAH *shall pass through to smite the Egyptians.* Which Expression of *Memra Jeshova*, or *Word of Jehovah*, is so favourite an Expression, among all the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts on the old Testament, that, where the original Expression in the *Hebrew* says, *Jehovah* did such or such a Thing, they commonly paraphrase it, by attributing those Operations to the *Memra*, that is, the *Logos*, or *Word of Jehovah*. Instances of which it would be endless to produce.

L. And as this Angel, whose Portion is *Israel*, is called the *Word of God*, because God employeth him to carry his Word; so is he also, by the same Figure of Rhetoric, called *the Wisdom of God*, because he is employed by God to execute the Purposes of his Wisdom. For thus the wise Son of *Sirach*, when speaking of this Guardian Angel of *Israel*, by the Name of *Wisdom*, says [7], *I came out of the Mouth of the High, and covered the Earth as a Cloud. I dwelt in high Places, and my Throne is in a cloudy Pillar. So the Creator of all Things gave me a Commandment; and he that MADE me caused me to rest, and said, Let thy Dwelling be in Jacob, and thine Inheritance in Israel. He CREATED me from the Beginning, before the World, and I shall never fail. In the holy Tabernacle I served him; and so was I established in Sion. Likewise in the beloved City he gave me Rest, and in Jerusalem was my Power. And I took Root in an honourable People, even in the Portion of the Lord's Inheritance. I therefore being ETERNAL, am given to all my Children which are named of him, i. e. I am sent to the Children of Israel, who are God's peculiar People, and are so named of him. See Lev. xxvi. 12. Micah iv. 5.*

LI. Where it is to be observed, that this Being is spoken of, *as coming out of the Mouth of the Most High, made and created*; which must be understood in the same Sense with those Words of *Moses*, when he

[7] *Ecclus* xxiv. 1 — 12.

describes the Creation of *Light*: *And God said, Let there be Light, and there was Light*, Gen. i. 3. It is likewise to be observed, that this Guardian Angel of *Israel*, whose *Throne* was in the *cloudy Pillar*, &c. is here declared to have been a *created Being*, in Terms as strong and plain as it is in the Power of Language to express. It may also further be remarked, that although he is positively said to have been *made* and *created*, yet, because he was spoken into Existence before the Sun and the Moon, those Measures of Duration, which were given Mankind, [8] *for Signs and for Seasons, and for Days and for Years*; because he was in the Beginning, *before the World*, he styles himself *eternal*. See Sect. xxxiii.

LII. And in the same Kind of Style it is that *Solomon*, speaking of this same Being under the Denomination of *Wisdom*, represents it as a separate intelligent Agent, personally subsisting with God *from Everlasting*, because it was *brought forth* before the Creation of this World. For thus, speaking in the Person, and under the Character of *Wisdom*, he saith [9], *Jehovah [1] possessed me in the Beginning of his Ways, before his Works of old. I was set up from Everlasting: from the Beginning, or ever the Earth was. When there was no Depths, I was BROUGHT FORTH; when there were no Fountains abounding with Water. Before the Mountains were settled; before the Hills was I BROUGHT FORTH; while as yet he had not made the Earth, nor the Fields, nor the highest Parts of the Dust of the World. When he prepared the Heavens, I was there: When he set a Compass upon the Face of the Deep: When he gave to the Sea his Decree, that the Water should not pass his Commandment: When he appointed the Foundations of the Earth; then I was by him as one brought up*

[8] Gen. i. 14.

[9] Prov. viii. 22.

[1] In the

Septuagint it is, *The Lord created me.*

with him: And I was always his Delight, rejoicing always before him.

LIII. But *Philo Judeus* further observes, that this Archangel with many Names, whose Portion was *Israel*, was also called by *the Name of God*. Now let us see what Foundation there is for this in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. The Name of God, which the *Jews* never pronounced, but called it the ineffable Name, was *Jehovah*; so that, whenever in reading the Bible, they met with this Word, instead thereof, they always said *Adonai* or *Elohim*; and the Authors of the Septuagint Translation of the Bible, who were *Jews*, when they rendered it to *Greek*, always translated it by the Word *Κύριος*, which we in *English* render *the Lord*. Which is the Reason also why *Philo* does not mention that Name of God by which this Archangel was denominated, but says only, in general, that he was called by *the Name of God*. Now the Instances in the Old Testament, where an Angel, and in particular, that Angel which acted as a Guardian Angel to the Seed of *Abraham*, and presided over the Children of *Israel*, is called *Jehovah*, are very numerous.

LIV. Thus, when *Hagar* fled from the Face of her Mistress, it is said, that *an Angel of Jehovah found her in the Wilderness, and the Angel of Jehovah said unto her, Return to thy Mistress*. Now though *Moses* in this Place calls the Person who spake to *Hagar* an Angel of *Jehovah*, yet *Moses* afterwards mentions this same Person under the direct Name of *Jehovah*: For, says he, [2] *Hagar called the Name of JEHOVAH that spake to her, Thou God seest me*.

LV. Thus also it is said of *Abraham*, that [3] *JEHOVAH appeared unto him in the Plains of Mamre; and he sat at the Tent Door in the Heat of the Day; and he lift up his Eyes and looked, and lo, three Men stood by him*. Now

[2] Gen. xvi. 7—13.

[3] Gen. xviii. 1, &c.

that two of the Persons which are here called Men, because they appeared as such, had each of them the Appellation of *Jehovah* given them, will appear from the Context : For when one of these Men enquired for *Sarah*, and said, *Lo! Sarah thy Wife shall have a Son* ; upon which *Sarah* laughed within herself ; then it is positively said, that *JEHOVAH* said unto *Abraham*, *Why did Sarah laugh? Is any Thing too hard for Jehovah?* And yet it is said, after all this, that *the Men rose up from thence, and looked towards Sodom; and Abraham went with them to bring them on the Way: And JEHOVAH said, Shall I hide from Abraham that Thing which I do?* And when two of the Men had turned their Faces from thence, and went towards *Sodom* ; it is said, *Abraham stood yet before Jehovah.* And when *Abraham* was pleading in favour of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, he said, among other Things, to this *Jehovah* with whom he was conversing, *Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?* And when the Discourse was ended, *Moses* says, that *JEHOVAH went his Way, as soon as he had left communing with Abraham, and Abraham returned to his Place.* Whence it is manifest beyond all Doubt, that one of these three Men who was left alone in Conversation with *Abraham*, is called *Jehovah*, and the Judge of all the Earth.

LVI. And when the two Men, which had left *Abraham* and *Jehovah* conversing together, came to *Sodom*, it is said, [4] *And there came two ANGELS to Sodom at Even. And when the Morning arose, then the ANGELS hastened Lot. And he said, that is, one of the Angels said, Escape for thy Life; for I cannot do any Thing till thou be come thither. And the Sun was risen upon the Earth, when Lot entered into Zoar. Then JEHOVAH rained upon Sodom and Gomorrhah Brimstone and Fire from JEHOVAH out of Heaven.* Whence it is plain, that one of these two Angels is here also dig-

nified with the Appellation of *Jehovah*, and yet is represented as acting under the Influence of another *Jehovah* in Heaven. So that it is manifest, here are two distinct Persons, or Angels, which appeared upon Earth, to each of which is given the Appellation of *Jehovah*.

LVII. Again, when *Jacob* lived with his Father *Laban*, and was giving an Account to his Wives of their Father's Conduct and Behaviour towards him, he says, [5] *And the Angel of God spake to me in a Dream, saying, Jacob; and I said, Here am I; and he said, I am the God of Bethel, where thou anointedst the Pillar, and vowed a Vow unto me. Now the Vow which Jacob made at Bethel was this: [6] If God be with me, and will keep me in this Way, that I go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on; so that I come again to my Father's House in Peace: Then shall JEHOVAH be my God. Whence it is plain, that an Angel of God, speaking to Jacob, calls himself [7] Jehovah the God of Bethel.*

LVIII. Thus also we find it said, that [8] *the ANGEL OF JEHOVAH appeared unto Moses, in a Flame of Fire out of the Bush. And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great Sight, why the Bush is not burnt. And when JEHOVAH saw that he had turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the Bush. Moreover he said, I am the God of thy Fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his Face; for he was afraid to look upon God. Where it is manifest, that an Angel is called by Moses, Jehovah; and that the Angel calls himself the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.*

LIX. Thus also, when the Children of *Israel* were marching towards the *Red-Sea*, it is said, that [9] *the*

[5] Gen. xxiv. 47. xxxi. 11, 13.

[6] Gen. xxviii. 20, 21.

[7] See also Gen. xxxii. 4, 5. and compare it with Hosea xii.

4, 5. [8] Exod. iii. 2, 6. Acts vii. 30, 35. [9] Exod. xiv. 19.

ANGEL of God, which went before the Camp of Israel, removed, and went behind them, and the Pillar of the Cloud went from before their Face, and stood behind them. And yet, in another Place, it is said, that [1] JEHOVAH went before them by Day in a Pillar of a Cloud, to lead them the Way; and by Night in a Pillar of Fire, to give them Light.

LX. It is also said, when Moses went up to Mount Sinai, That [2] JEHOVAH called unto him out of the Mountain. And again, That Moses came and called for the Elders of the People, and laid before their Faces all these Words which JEHOVAH commanded him: And that Moses returned all the Words of the People of Israel unto JEHOVAH: That JEHOVAH said again unto Moses, Go unto the People, and sanctify them To-day and To-morrow, and be ready against the third Day: For the third Day JEHOVAH will come down, in the Sight of all the People, upon Mount Sinai. And the third Day Mount Sinai was altogether on a Smoke, because JEHOVAH descended upon it in Fire. — And JEHOVAH came down upon Mount Sinai. — And JEHOVAH called up Moses unto the Top of the Mount. And God spake all these Words, saying, I am JEHOVAH thy God, which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, &c. And yet St. Stephen, who was a Jew, affirms, that [3] the Law was given by the Disposition of ANGELS: And that it was an ANGEL that spake to Moses from Mount Sinai, and with our Fathers, who received the lively Oracles to give unto us. And St. Paul says, [4] that the Law was ordained of ANGELS. And, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, he calls it [5] the Word spoken of ANGELS.

LXI. It is likewise to be observed, that when [6] Moses and Aaron, and Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the Elders of Israel, went up into the Mount, by the Command of God, it is said, *They saw the God of*

[1] Exod. xiii. 21. [2] Exod. xix. 3, &c. [3] Acts vii. 33, 38. [4] Gal. iii. 9. [5] Heb. ii. 2. [6] Exod. xxiv. 10, &c.

Israel. — *also they saw God, and did eat and drink:* That is, They saw the God of Israel, and did live to eat and drink. Whereas, when Moses afterwards applied to God, and begged it of him, as a Favour, that he might see his Glory, or Face, that he might know him; [7] *JEHOVAH said unto him, Thou canst not see my Face; for there shall no Man see me, and live. But, says he to Moses, I will make all my Goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the Name of JEHOVAH before thee: And it shall come to pass, while my Glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a Clift of the Rock, and will cover thee with my Hand while I pass by: And I will take away mine Hand, and thou shalt see what [8] follows me; but my Face shall not be seen.* And accordingly, when Moses returned to the Mount, it is said, that JEHOVAH descended in the Cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the Name of JEHOVAH. And JEHOVAH passed by before him, and proclaimed JEHOVAH, JEHOVAH God, merciful and gracious, &c. And Moses made haste, and bowed his Head and worshiped.

LXII. Whence it is manifest, that this *Jehovah*, whom Moses made haste to worship, could not be that *Jehovah*, whose Face could not be seen, whom no Man could see and live; but the *Jehovah* who followed the invisible *Jehovah*, and was probably the same Person with that God of Israel, who was seen by Moses and Aaron, and Nadab and Abihu, and the seventy Elders of Israel: And who is called by God in another Place, *the Similitude, or Image, of Jehovah*. For, says *Jehovah* unto the People of Israel, *with my Servant*

[7] *Exod. xxxiii. 20, &c.*

[8] The Original, which, in our Translation, we render *Back-part*, properly signifies any Thing or Person that is behind or followeth another. In which Sense it is used, *Gen. xviii. 10.* when Moses saith, *And Sarah heard it in the Tent-door, which was BEHIND him.* So also, *Joshua vi. 13.* *And the Rereward followed AFTER the Ark.* So also *Sam. x. 9.* *When Joab saw that the Front of the Batt'e was against him before and BEHIND.* See also *2 Chron. xiii. 13, 14, &c. &c.*

Moses

Moses will I speak Mouth to Mouth; and [9] the Similitude of Jehovah shall be beheld.

LXIII. Now this *Jehovah*, or this Similitude, Image, or Representative of *Jehovah*, which Moses beheld, is manifestly the same Person with that Guardian Angel of *Israel*, who had so often appeared already, and spoken to *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *Moses*, in the Name and Person of *Jehovah*; because it was on this very Account that *Moses* desired of God to shew him his Glory, that he might know the Person who was to conduct the *Israelites* into the promised Land. For thus it is, that *Moses* introduceth his Request: [1] *And Moses said unto JEHOVAH, See thou sayest unto me, Bring up this People: And thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me. — Now therefore I pray thee, if I have found Grace in thy Sight, shew me now [2] THY WAY; that I may know thee: And consider that this Nation is thy People. And JEHOVAH said, I will do this Thing that thou hast spoken, &c. And he said, Thou canst not see my Face; for there shall no Man see my Face and live. But it shall come to pass, while my Glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a Cleft of the Rock; and will cover thee with mine Hand, while I pass by; and I will take away mine Hand, and thou shalt see what followeth me: But my Face shall not be seen, &c.*

LXIV. So that this Being which followed *Jehovah*, this *Way*, this *Glory* of *Jehovah*, whom the invisible *Jehovah* proclaimed to be *Jehovah* as well as

[9] Numb. xii. 7, 8.

[1] Exod. xxxiii. 12, &c.

[2] The original Word **וַיַּרְא** is used in a great Variety of Senses in the Old Testament; the Septuagint Version renders it in this Place *θεαυτοῦ*, *thyself*. And in the same Sense it probably is, that *David*, praying to *Jehovah*, says, *God be merciful unto us, and bless us; and cause thy Face to shine upon us, That THY WAY (or Thou) may be known upon Earth, thy saving Health among all Nations*, Psal. lxxvii. 2. And in Psal. lxxvii. 13. he says, *THY WAY, O God (or Thou) is in the Sanctuary*. And hence probably it is, that the Prophet *Amos* calls the God or Idol of *Beersheba*, *the Way of Beersheba*, Am. viii. 14.

himself, is manifestly that Angel, who was appointed by God to conduct the *Israelites* into the promised Land. And therefore God saith to *Moses*, in another Place, [3] *Behold I send an Angel before thee to keep thee in the Way, and to bring thee into the Place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his Voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your Transgressions; FOR MY NAME IS IN HIM.* That is, Behold, I send an Angel before thee acting in my Stead, and by my Authority; beware of him, and obey his Voice, provoke him not, for *I have proclaimed him Jehovah*; and, as he acts by my Authority, and my Power is delegated unto him, as my *Similitude*, Image, or Representative, he will not pardon your Transgressions, for my Name of *Jehovah* is in him.

LXV. And hence it comes to pass, that this Second *Jehovah* is in a particular Manner distinguished by the Appellation of the *God of Israel*, the *Jehovah of Zion*, and the *Jehovah of the Jews*. For thus the Prophet *Hosea*, speaking by Authority from God, the great *Jehovah*, saith, [4] *But I will have Mercy on the House of Judah, and will save them by JEHOVAH THEIR GOD.* And *Zechariah* the Prophet, speaking of the same People, saith [5] *I will strengthen them in JEHOVAH, and they shall walk up and down in HIS NAME, saith Jehovah.* Not in my Name, but in his Name, saith the invisible *Jehovah*; that is, in the Name of the *God of Israel*, whom they had seen. And, in another Place, the same Prophet saith, [6] *Sing and rejoice, O Daughters of Zion; for, lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith JEHOVAH: And many Nations shall be joined to JEHOVAH in that Day, and shall be my People: And I will dwell in the midst of thee, and thou shalt know that the JEHOVAH OF HOSTS hath sent me unto thee.* Where the *Jehovah of Zion*

[3] Exod. xxiii. 20, 21.

[4] Hof. i. 7.

[5] Zech. x.

[6] Zech. ii. 10, 11.

is plainly distinguished from the *Jehovah of Hosts*, and acknowledgeth himself to be sent by him.

LXVI. The only Difficulty in this Case is this, that the *Jehovah of Zion*, though in this one Place he acknowledgeth himself to be sent by the *Jehovah of Hosts*; yet in other Places this *Jehovah of Zion*, or the Angel which appeared unto *Abraham*, and *Jacob*, and *Moses*, does not always declare that he is deputed, and speaks by the delegated Authority of the *Jehovah of Hosts*; which is the general Meaning of the Phrase of speaking *in the Name* of any one; but actually and literally speaks in his own Name, and calls himself *Jehovah*, and saith, *I am the God of Abraham*; and *I am the God of Bethel*; and *I brought thee out of the Land of Egypt*, &c. and positively prohibits *Moses* and the Children of *Israel* from worshipping any other God but himself: *Thou*, says he, *shalt have none other Gods before me*. Thereby seeming to forbid even the Worship of the Supreme *Jehovah*, the *Jehovah of Hosts*.

LXVII. In Answer to which it is to be observed, that the *Hebrews* were far from being explicit and accurate in their Style, but left great Room for the [7] Imagination of the Reader to supply, and fill up the Deficiencies; and that it was very customary for one Person to speak in the Name and Character of another Person, without making the least Mention of the other Person, in whose Name the Words were spoken. Thus it is allowed by the universal Consent of all Antiquity, as well *Jews* as *Christians*, that, in the second Psalm, *David* is there speaking of the *Messiah*, and yet the whose Psalm is delivered in the Person and Character of *David* himself. *Why*, says he, *do the Heathen rage, and the People imagine a vain*

[7] Any one that does but open the *English Bible*, and observe the Number of Words that are inserted in *Italick Characters*, none of which are in the Original, will immediately perceive the Truth of this Assertion.

Thing? The Kings of the Earth set themselves, and the Rulers take Counsel together against JEHOVAH, and against his Anointed. He that sitteth in Heaven shall laugh; JEHOVAH shall have them in Derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his Wrath, and vex them in his sore Displeasure. Yet have I set my King upon my holy Hill of Sion. I will declare the Decree JEHOVAH hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heavens for thine Inheritance, and the uttermost Parts of the Earth for thy Possession.

LXVIII. Now it is plain, that the Decree here spoken of, though it was delivered unto David, yet the Purport thereof was not promised to David, but to some one of the Seed of David, 2 Sam. vii. 12, 14, 16, of whom God said, *I will be his Father, and he shall be my Son.* And yet David saith, when speaking of this Decree, *I will declare the Decree JEHOVAH hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee.* And what is further remarkable is, that it was not *Jehovah*, but *Nathan* the Prophet, who spake to David by Authority from God.

LXIX. And indeed nothing is more common than for Prophets and Angels to speak authoritatively in their own Name, without introducing their Speech with an explanatory Preface, mentioning the Person in whose Name they speak. Thus the Prophet *Isaiah* saith, [8] *The Word that Isaiah the Son of Amos saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem —* [9] *For behold the Lord, the JEHOVAH OF HOSTS, doth take away from Jerusalem and from Judah the Stay and the Staff, &c.* — And then some Verses afterwards, he saith, *And I will give Children to be their Princes, and Babes shall rule over them, &c.* Where it is manifest, that the Prophet speaks in this last Place in the first Person, in his own Name, without inserting the Words, *and JEHO-*

[8] Isai. ii. 1.

[9] Isai. iii. 1 — 4.

VAH said unto me, which seem necessary to have been inserted, in order to make his Words intelligible, if he intended they should be understood of *Jehovah*, and not of himself; but that he knew very well the *Jews* would, of themselves, supply the Deficiency.

LXX. In like Manner, in the Revelation of St. John, though the Apostle declares, that it was delivered to him by an Angel, and calls it [1] *The Revelation of JESUS CHRIST, which GOD gave unto him, to shew unto his Servants Things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his ANGEL unto his Servant John*: Yet through the whole Book this Angel speaks indifferently in the first Person, either when he speaks in the Name of God the Father, or in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, or in his own Name. Thus, Rev. i. 10. St. John says, *I was in the Spirit on the Lord's-Day, and heard behind me a great Voice, as of a Trumpet, saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last, &c.* Now this Voice was undoubtedly the Voice of the Angel, who was sent to testify unto him; and yet he speaks in the first Person, saying, *I am Alpha and Omega*: And Verse 13, when he turned to see the Voice that spake with him, he says, [2] *And when I saw him, I fell at his Feet as dead: And he laid his Right-hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not: I am the First and the Last; I am he that liveth and was dead; and behold I am alive for evermore.* Where it is manifest that this Angel speaks at once both in the Name of God the Father, and of God the Son; because he calls himself *Alpha and Omega*, and yet declares he was once *dead*. And yet, Chapter iii. 14. this same Angel speaks only in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, saying, *These Things saith the Amen, the faithful and true Witness, THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION OF GOD*: Which is the Character given by

[1] Rev. i. 1.

[2] Rev. i. 17.

St. Paul of Jesus Christ, who styles him [3] *the First-born of the whole Creation.*

LXXI. However, towards the Close of the whole Revelation, St. John says, [4] *I John saw these Things and heard them, and when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the Feet of the Angel which shewed me these Things. Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not; for I am thy Fellow-Servant, and of thy Brethren the Prophets, and of them which keep the Sayings of this Book: Worship God. And he saith unto me, Seal not the Sayings of the Prophecy of this Book; for the Time is at Hand. — And behold I come quickly; and my Reward is with me, to give to every Man according as his Works shall be. I am Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End; the First and the Last. — I Jesus have sent mine Angel to testify unto you these Things in the Churches. I am the Root and the Offspring of David, and the bright and the Morning-Star.*

LXXII. Where it is manifest, that this *Angel*, who had refused Worship and Adoration, and had declared himself to be a created Being, the Fellow-Servant of *John*, and of his Brethren the Prophets; yet because he was sent by *Jesus* to testify that Revelation, [5] which was given unto *Jesus* by God, he therefore speaks indifferently in the first Person, *I*, either when he speaks in his own Person, in the Person of *Jesus*, or in the Person of God the Father. So that it should seem no extraordinary Thing to find that exalted *Angel*, whom God had proclaimed *Jehovah*, speaking also in the first Person, and saying, *I am that I am*, or, *I am the God of Abraham*, or the God of *Bethel*, &c.

LXXIII. This however is manifest from the whole taken together, that the *Jews* had great Foun-

[3] Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως. i. e. The First-born of the whole Creation; and not, as we translate it, *the First-born of every Creature*, Col. i. 15. [4] Rev. xxii. 8, &c. [5] Rev. i. 1.

dation in the Scriptures of the Old Testament for their Opinion of a Δεύτερος Θεός, a Second or Secondary God, that is, one who acted by a deputed Power from the Supreme God; which *Philo* calls *the Archangel with many Names*: For it appears he was therein called, *The great Prince which standeth for the Children of Israel*; *The Word of God*; *The Wisdom of God*; *The Similitude, or Image, of God*; and *Jehovah*, or the *Name of God*.

LXXIV. Now then let us see what Foundation there is in the Scriptures of the Old Testament for the Opinion of a third Person, whom the Jews ἀποθεάζουσιν, *paid divine Honours to*. And here it may be observed, that it hath been already shewed, that two of the Angels, which appeared to *Abraham* in the Similitude of Men, were each called by the Name of *Jehovah* [6]: For as the one which remained conversing with *Abraham*, while the other two went towards *Sodom*, was called *Jehovah*, so also is one of the two Angels which went to destroy *Sodom*, called *Jehovah* also: For, says *Moses*, *JEHOVAH rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah Brimstone and Fire from JEHOVAH out of Heaven*.

LXXV. It is likewise to be observed, that in the Prophecy of [7] *Zechariah*, that Prophet, in declaring a Vision which he had seen of a Candlestick, with two Olive-Trees by it, says, that an *Angel* talked with him, and *Zechariah* said unto him, *What be these two Olive-Trees upon the Right Side of the Candlestick and upon the Left Side thereof? And I answered again and said unto him, What be these two Olive-Branches, which through the golden Pipes empty the golden Oil out of themselves? And he answered me, and said, These are the TWO ANOINTED ONES, THAT STAND by the Lord of the whole Earth*.

[6] See Sect. LVI.

[7] Zech. iv. 1, &c.

LXXVI. Now it is manifest, that That Angel, whose *Portion* is Israel, is by the Prophet *Isaiah* called the Angel of God's Presence. For, says that Prophet, [8] *I will mention the Loving-kindness of JEHOVAH, and his great Goodness towards the House of Israel. — In all their Afflictions he was afflicted, and the ANGEL OF HIS PRESENCE saved them.* And as this Angel, or great Prince, which standeth for the Children of Israel, is by the Prophet *Daniel* distinguished by the Name of *Michael*; so it may be further proper to take Notice, that there is another Angel named by a particular Name in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, who is called [9] *Gabriel*; which *Gabriel*, according to [1] *St. Luke*, called himself also *the Angel that standeth in the Presence of God.* So that here are plainly two Angels, one of which, for Distinction-sake, is called *Michael*, and the other *Gabriel*, which are described as standing in the Presence of God, or, as *Zechariah* expresseth it, *which stand by the Lord of the whole Earth.* As a Type of which, according to [2] *Philo Judæus*, it was, that, at the Building of the Tabernacle, God directed only two *Cherubim* to be placed over the *Mercy-Seat* in the *Holy of Holies*.

LXXVII. And as it appears, that the Archangel *Michael* is that Person who is called the *Second Essence* by the *Jews*, so, upon Inquiry, we shall find that the Angel *Gabriel* has a very good Title towards being considered as that *Third Essence*, or Being, to which the *Jews* paid divine Honours. For the Opinion of the *Jews*, with regard to this Third Being, was, [3] that “after the Second Essence comes the *Holy Spirit*, “which they place in this Royal Dignity, and Degree of Principality, because it is the Will of the

[8] *Isai.* lxiii. 7, 9.

[9] As *Michael* signifies the *Similitude of God*; so *Gabriel* signifies the *Strength*, or *Power of God*.

[1] *Luke* i. 19.

[2] *Phil. Vit. Mosi*, lib. iii. p. 669. Edit. Franc. 1691.

[3] *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 15.

“ great Architect to appoint him to the Principality
 “ of those inferior Beings, who may want his Assist-
 “ ance. Who therefore, obtaining the third Place,
 “ confers on those, who are inferior to him, those ex-
 “ cellent Virtues which he himself received from an-
 “ other, to wit, from the divine *Logos*, his Better and
 “ Superior, who, we before said, was the Second to
 “ the supreme, unbegotten, and Almighty God.” So
 says *Eusebius*, “ All the *Hebrew* Divines, after that
 “ God, who is over all, and after this first-born Wis-
 “ dom, pay divine Worship to the third and holy
 “ Power, which they call the Holy Spirit, by which
 “ they themselves are illuminated when they are di-
 “ vinely inspired.”

LXXVIII. Now it is manifest, that the Angel *Gabriel* was employed in the Administration of this Office, that is, in the illuminating of those who were divinely inspired; which the Prophet *Zechariah* metaphorically expresseth, by *emptying through golden Pipes, the golden Oil out of themselves*. Since it was undoubtedly for this Purpose that *Gabriel* was sent to the Prophet [4] *Daniel*, to *make him understand the Vision*: And to *give him Skill and Understanding*. And therefore it is probable, that this Angel *Gabriel* was that *holy Spirit* who was employed by God in illuminating the rest of the Prophets of Old, and who is so often mentioned in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, under the Name of *the holy Spirit*, the *Spirit of God*, or the *Spirit of Jehovah*. For thus the Prophet [5] *Nehemiah* positively saith, that *Jehovah* testified against the Wicked *by his Spirit in his Prophets*. And the Prophet [6] *Zechariah* saith, *They made their Hearts as an Adamant Stone, lest they should hear the Law, and the Words which the* JEHOVAH OF HOSTS HATH SENT BY HIS SPIRIT *in the former Prophets*.

[4] Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21, 22.

[6] Zech. vii. 12.

[5] Neh. ix. 63.

LXXIX. Which Words plainly prove this Spirit to have been an intelligent Agent, separate and distinct from God, because he was *sent* by him. For though Men may be said to be inspired, or actuated, by the Spirit of God, when God is pleased to inspire or influence them by virtue of his own almighty Power, without deputing any other Spirit to do it: Yet it is manifest that God cannot *send* himself; because those Terms imply a Contradiction. And therefore the Prophet *Isaiab* is said to have been *sent* both by God and his Spirit. For, says he, [7] *And now Jehovah God, and his Spirit hath sent me.* And in the Books of [8] *Judges* and *Samuel*, it is not said, that it was *Jehovah*, but the *Spirit of Jehovah*, which *came upon* Othoniel, and Gideon, and Jephtha, and Sampson, and Saul, and David, to assist them in the Government of *Israel*, and the Execution of their Office. And the holy [9] *David*, in the penitential Psalm, which he composed on his Transgression with *Bathsheba*, begs of Almighty God, *not to take his HOLY SPIRIT* from him; but, says he, *restore me unto the Joy of thy Salvation, and uphold me with thy FREE SPIRIT.*

LXXX. And therefore this holy Spirit is sometimes said to enter into Men when it inspired them. For thus the Prophet *Ezekiel* declares, that the Spirit [1] *entered into him when it spake unto him.* And the Prophet *Isaiab*, speaking of *Moses*, saith, that [2] *God put his holy Spirit within him.* Which likewise shews this *Spirit* to have been a separate intelligent Agent, distinct from God himself, because it is said, that it was *God* who *PUT this holy Spirit within him.*

LXXXI. And as it pleased God, that this *holy Spirit* should sometimes manifest its Abode in particular People, by some outward and visible Token, for the

[7] *Isai.* xlvi. 16. [8] See *Judges* iii. 10. vi. 34. xi. 29. xii. 25 1 *Sam* x. 6. xvi. 13. [9] *Psal.* li. 11, 12, 13.
[1] *Ezek.* ii. 2. iii. 24. [2] *Isai.* vi. 3

Sake of the By-standers, that they might be obedient unto those Persons upon whom it abode; therefore it is, in the Language of the holy Scriptures, sometimes said to *rest upon* those on whom it was conferred. Thus, when God ordered *Moses* to appoint Seventy Elders, who should assist him in the Distribution of Justice, it is said, that [3] *Jehovah came down in a Cloud, and spake unto him, and took of the Spirit that was UPON HIM, and gave it to the Seventy Elders; and it came to pass, that when THE SPIRIT RESTED UPON THEM, they prophesied, and did not cease.*

LXXXII. Now it is observed of *Moses*, that, when he came the last Time down from Mount *Sinai*, [4] *the Skin of his Face shone*, so that the People were afraid to come nigh him. It is therefore probable, that this Manifestation of the *Spirit* which was conferred on *Moses*, and from him divided among the Seventy Elders, was a kind of lucid shining Appearance which rested upon them as an outward and visible Token of the inward Assistance and Illumination of the *Holy Spirit*. And therefore God also commanded *Moses*, when he appointed *Joshua* for his Successor, to [5] *take Joshua the Son of Nun*, and, says he, *thou shalt lay some of thine Honour UPON HIM, that all the Congregation of the Children of Israel may be obedient*: In like Manner, when *Elisha* was appointed Successor to *Elijah*, it is said, *the Spirit of Elijah, or the Spirit which was on Elijah, doth REST ON Elisha. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves before him.*

LXXXIII. But when this *Holy Spirit* was pleased to make its Appearance, either in the Figure and Form of an Angel or Man, the *Jews* then *Ἀποθεῖαζον*,^{iv} paid divine Honours to it: As *Daniel* did to the Angel [6] *Gabriel*, when it appeared unto him in the Form of a Man; for, saith he, [7] *I was afraid, and*

[3] Numb. xi. 16, 25. [4] Exod. xxxiv. 29. [5] Numb
xxvii. 20.

[6] Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21.

[7] Dan. viii.

fell upon my Face: As *Ezekiel* also did to the [8] *Holy Spirit*, when it appeared unto him in [9] *the Likeness of the Glory of Jehovah*; for, says he, *When* [1] *I saw it, I fell upon my Face*. Which was the usual Method of Prostration both with [2] him, and all the ancient [3] Prophets and Patriarchs, whenever they had any earnest Request to make to Almighty God; or when they apprehended that an Angel sent from God was speaking to them.

LXXXIV. And indeed it seems but reasonable, that, beside the Respect which is due to this *Holy Spirit* on account of the Excellency of its own Nature, there should be a further Degree of Reverence and Regard paid unto him, in proportion to the Degree of Power or Authority over us, which is committed unto him from God: Since it is but just, that whatever Degree of Superiority the Almighty is pleased to give to any one Being over others, there should be a suitable Degree of Submission and Obedience paid to that Being, in proportion to the Extent of Authority delegated from God.

LXXXV. Not that Angels, as Angels, have any Right to divine Worship or Adoration upon their own Account; and therefore all [4] *voluntary Humility and Worshipping of Angels*, even the highest, out of our own Head, or without a Commission from God for so doing, would be Idolatry: which was the Reason why that Angel who was sent from God to shew the Revelation to St. *John*, reprimanding the Apostle, when he [5] *fell down to worship before the Feet of*

[8] Ezek. ii. 2. iii. 24.
28. iii. 3. xliii. 3, 4. xlv. 4.

[9] Ezek. i. 28.

[1] Ezek. i.

[2] Ezek. ix. 8. xi. 13.

[3] Gen. xvii. 3. Numb. xvi. 22. xxii. 31. Josh. v. 14. See also Matth. xxvi. 39. Mark xiv. 35. Though he first kneeled down, Luke xxii. 41.

[4] Col. ii. 18. — Whether our Translation is strictly just, I will not say; but sure I am, that it corresponds to the Meaning of the Apostle. However, *Grotius* may be consulted by any one who wants further Satisfaction.

[5] Rev. xvii. 8.

the Angel which shewed him these Things, saying, See thou do it not.—Worship God. Because St. *John* seems to have paid this *Worship* to the Angel on his own Account, without any Regard to the Authority by which he was sent; which would have been Idolatry. But when Angels are commissioned from God, with any Degree of Power over us, and are sent in his Name; then it cannot be Idolatry, to pay them such a Degree of Adoration, as is proportionate to the Authority with which they are invested: Because such Adoration or Worship, not being paid them on their own Account, but on account of the Authority which hath been delegated unto them, terminates in the one only and supreme God. See Sect. CXIII, CXIV.

LXXXVI. Which Method of Reasoning may be pursued from the highest Degree of Worship, payable to the most perfect Being next to God, acting with the highest Authority which God is pleased to communicate or delegate, down to the lowest Degree of Deference or Respect, which, Reason instructs us, is proper to pay to some of our own Fellow-Creatures for the Preservation of a due Subordination in Society: Since in this Sense it is, that [6] *not only the Powers which be, are ordained of God*; but also that those Prophets and Judges of *Israel*, [7] *to whom the Word of God came*, are called *Gods*; because they spoke by his Authority, and acted in his stead.

LXXXVII. Which Doctrine of the *Jews* with regard to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, seems therefore not only to be supported by the Doctrine of the Old Testament, but also reconcileable to Reason; since, if we do but reflect on the immense Distance there is between the imperfect State of human Beings, and the infinite Perfection of Almighty God, we cannot but think that

[6] Rom. xiii. 1. [7] See Exod. xxii. 18. Pl. lxxxii. 1, 2, 6. John x. 34, 35.

God should chuse to govern this Universe by a gradual Subordination of Beings, one superior to another; rather than to be the sole Director or Governor of every the most minute Affair: Not that such a Government would be troublesome to God, or that he would be unable to perform it, or that God can possibly divest himself of the supreme Authority, universal Inspection, and general Superintendency even of the minutest Transaction in the whole Creation: But because it seems more consistent with the divine Goodness and Wisdom, to employ the various Works of his Hands in the Exercise of those Powers and Faculties with which he hath endowed them; rather than personally and immediately to interpose in the Conduct of those Transactions, for which he hath created Numbers of Beings furnished with Abilities sufficient to perform them.

LXXXVIII. It is likewise reasonable to believe, that the same Method of Government, which God hath ordained in this sublunary Globe, is carried on by a Kind of *Analogy* through the whole Creation. And that as the great Creator hath been pleased to constitute this World in such a Manner, as to require the Authority of some Persons presiding over others, in Families, in Towns, in Cities, in Provinces, in Kingdoms, in Empires; so probably in the great Expanse of Spirits, there are Degrees of Superiority analogous to these sublunary Dispositions; which we have no better Method of expressing, than by calling them, in Allusion to the Things which we do know, [8] *Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers.*

LXXXIX. And as this Doctrine is reconcilable with the the Scriptures of the Old Testament, the Sentiments of the *Jewish* Divines, and with Reason; so it is also with the Scriptures of the New Testament. For, says St. Paul, [9] *Though there be that are called*

[8] Col. i. 16.

[9] 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

Gods, whether in Heaven or Earth, (for there be Gods many, and Lords many) yet to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all Things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all Things, and we by him. That is, there is but one supreme God, in Comparifon of whom there is [1] none other but he; and with regard to whom Jesus the Christ is only to be called Lord, and not God: The Father having given him a Name that is above every other Name, that every Tongue should confefs, that Jesus Christ is LORD, to the Glory of God the Father, Phil. ii. 9, 11.

XC. Which God the Father, as he is described by *Moses*, under the Character of that God, [2] *whose Face cannot be seen; for no Man can see him and live; so also St. Paul* characterises him as that God, who is [3] *the blessed and ONLY Potentate; the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, WHO ONLY bath Immortality, dwelling in the Light which no Man can approach unto, WHOM NO MAN HATH OR CAN SEE. And St. John* says, [4] *No Man bath seen God at any Time. Which one, only, invifible God cannot therefore poffibly be the fame with that God, who [5] was manifested in the Flesh.*

XCI. Whence it appears, that here is a Distinction made by the Apostles between the Divinity of God the Father and of God the Son: And that although the Term of *God*, as when we say, There are Gods many, may be attributed to the Son; ye that, strictly speaking, as when we say, There is but one God, this Appellation is only to be attributed to God the Father; and accordingly the *Nicene Creed*, as all the ancient Creeds did, begins with saying, *I believe in one God the Father Almighty, &c.* And the Reason assigned for this Distinction by *St. Paul* is, because God

[1] Mark xii. 32.

[2] Exod. xxxiii. 20, 23.

[3] 1 Tim. xi. 15, 16.

[4] John i. 18. vi. 46. 1 John

iv. 12.

[5] 1 Tim. iii. 16.

the Father is alone to be considered as *the* [6] *first Cause*; for, says he, *there is one God the Father, OF WHOM ARE ALL THINGS*: And therefore God the Father is by the Son himself styled [7] *the only true God*. For, says he, when speaking of the Father, *This is eternal Life, that they may know THEE THE ONLY TRUE GOD, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.*

XCII. As therefore the first self-existent Cause of whom are all Things, can alone be properly called God, when the Title of God is given in the Scriptures to any other Being but the Father, we are to understand this, only as expressive of some God-like Power, which hath been given or communicated to that Being by God the Father. As accordingly *Jehovah* said unto *Moses*, when he sent him to *Pharaoh*, and communicated to him the Power of working Miracles, [8] *Thou shalt be to him instead of God*: Which he thus expresseth in another Place, [9] *See I have made thee a God to Pharaoh*. When all Power therefore in Heaven and Earth was given to the Son, he was made a God to those Beings over whom that Power was given, that is, over those Beings which inhabit this Heaven and this Earth, and over those only, since it is manifest at the same Time, that he must be excepted, who did give this Power unto him; and therefore St. Paul positively declares, when speaking of the Son, that [1] *when it is said, All Things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all Things under him: and when all Things shall be subdued unto him, then, says he, shall the Son also, that is, even in his highest State of exalted Glory, be subject unto him that did put all Things under him, that God may be all in all.*

XCIII. And as that secondary Essence among the *Jews*, whose Portion was *Israel*, was by them called

[6] See Sect. iii. [7] John xvii. 3. [8] Exod. v. 16. [9] Exod. xvii. 1. [1] 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28.

the Word and the Wisdom of God: So it is undoubted that these Appellations were from thence transferred, by the Apostles of *Christ* who were born and bred *Jews*, into the Christian Religion, and applied by them to *Jesus the Christ*, who is, in the Scriptures of the New Testament, called [2] *the Word and the Wisdom of God*.

XCIV. And as that secondary Essence was by the *Jews* called *the Image of God*, so is the Lord *Jesus Christ* called in the Language of the New Testament, [3] *the Image of the invisible God*: That is, the visible Image, or delegated Representative in Power of the invisible God. For that this is the scriptural Meaning of the Word *Image*, when applied to the Image of an invisible Being, seems plain from many Passages, but in particular from that wherein it is said, that Man was created [4] *in the Image of God*: Because as soon as God is represented by *Moses* as having said, *Let us make Man in our Image after our Likeness*: Then immediately follows, *and let him have Dominion over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowls of the Air, &c.* And therefore the *Arabic* Version of the Bible renders this last Sentence to this Purpose, that *by the Image which God enobled, he created him to have Dominion*. And the wise Son of *Sirach* observes, that [5] *the Lord created Men, and endued them with Strength, by themselves, and made them according to his Image; and put the Fear of Man upon all Flesh, and gave him Dominion over Beasts and Fowls*. And that this Word *Εἰκών*, *Image*, when applied to Persons, was generally understood to denote the one as being the Deputy or Representative of the other, in Power and Dominion, is plain from an Expression in *Basil* upon this very Subject. Where he manifestly useth this Word to signify a Viceroy: When, in Answer to this Objection, *But how then, if*

[2] John i. 1, 14. 1 Cor. i. 24. [3] Col. i. 15.

[4] Gen. i. 26, 27. [5] Eccles xvii. 1, 3, 4.

there are two distinct Persons (in the Godhead) do we not make two Gods? To this he answers, [6] Why just as a King, and the Deputy of a King, do not make two Kings.

XCV. And as the *Jews* supposed their *Logos* to be the same Person with that [7] *Angel of God's Presence*, who is represented in the Old Testament, as being the Guardian Angel of the Children of *Israel*, so also do the Scriptures of the New Testament suppose their *Logos*, or the Lord Jesus Christ, to be that very Angel who brought Redemption to *Israel*; and therefore St. Paul, speaking of the Deliverance of the *Israelites* from their *Egyptian* Bondage, saith, *Moreover, Brethren, I would not have you ignorant, how that all our Fathers were under the Cloud, and all passed through the Sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the Cloud, and in the Sea; and did all eat the same spiritual Meat, and did all drink the same spiritual Drink: For they drank of that same spiritual Rock that followed them, AND THAT ROCK WAS CHRIST.* He also saith, that by their Misconduct in the Wilderness, *they tempted Christ, and were therefore destroyed of Serpents.* And in his Epistle to the [9] *Hebrews*, he attributes the Perseverance of *Moses* in quitting *Pharaoh's* Court, in Obedience to the Commands of the *Jehovah-Angel*, and refusing to be called the Son of *Pharaoh's* Daughter, to his esteeming the *Reproach of Christ*, i. e. the [1] *Reproach of the Egyptians for Christ's sake, greater Riches than the Treasures in Egypt.*

XCVI. And as the *Jews* held their *Logos* to have been in the Beginning with God; and to be δεύτερον θεόν, a second God: So also do the Scriptures of the New Testament acknowledge their *Logos*, or the Lord

[6] Ὅτι βασιλεὺς λέγεται καὶ ἡ τῷ βασιλείῳ εἰκὼν, καὶ ἔ' δύο βασιλεῖς. Basil. *De Spir. Sancti*. c. xviii.

[7] Exod. xxiii. 20, 21. xxxiii. 2. Numb xx. 16. [8] 1 Cor. x. 1—9. [9] Heb. xi. 26. [1] This Method of speaking was very customary among the *Hebrews*. See Psal. lxxxix. 50. Gal. vi. 17. 1 Pet. iv. 13.

Jesus, to be called [1] *Emanuel*, which being interpreted is, *God with us*. He is therefore frequently, in the Language of the New Testament, spoken of as such. Thus *John* the Evangelist positively says, that [2] *the Word was God*. And *St. Paul* calls him, [3] *God manifested in the Flesh*. And *St. Thomas*, when speaking to him, fully and positively calleth him, [4] *my Lord and my God*.

XCVII. But then these Scriptures are in other Places very expressive, with regard to the Superiority of God the Father over God the Son: Thus *St. Peter*, in that Speech which he makes to the *Jews*, *Acts* ii. 33. where he is applying a Passage, out of the cxth *Psalms*, to our Saviour, says, *For David is not ascended into the Heavens: But he saith himself*, “The Lord” said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my Right Hand, “until I make thine Enemies thy Footstool.” Therefore, says *St. Peter*, let all the House of Israel know assuredly, that God hath MADE that same Jesus whom ye crucified, both Lord and Christ. Which shews that the Son could not have been from all Eternity co-equal to the Father, since the Father could not have made him either Lord or Christ, if he had no Superiority over him. And accordingly, *St. Paul* applies that Text of Scripture to *Jesus Christ*, which *David* maketh use of in the *Psalms*, when he saith, [6] *Thy Throne, O GOD, is for ever and ever; a Sceptre of Righteousness is the Sceptre of thy Kingdom: Thou hast loved Righteousness, and hated Iniquity; therefore God, EVEN THY GOD, hath anointed thee with the Oil of Gladness above thy Fellows*. In which Passage, though *Christ* is undoubtedly called *God*, yet the Superiority of God the Father over this God, is manifestly preserved; because he is called even *his God*. And the Lord *Jesus Christ*, when he was departing out of this Life, not only [7] offered

[1] *Matth.* i. 23. [2] *John* i. 1. [3] *1 Tim.* iii.
16. [4] *John* xx. 28. [6] *Heb.* i. 8. [7] *Heb.* v. 7.

up Prayers and Supplications unto the Father, as unto him that was able to save him from Death; but also [8] cried with a loud Voice, saying, MY GOD, MY GOD, why hast thou forsaken me?

XCVIII. I am not ignorant, that, in order to invalidate this Argument, it is said, that this last Expression was spoken only in regard to his human Nature, with respect to which he was undoubtedly inferior to God the Father; but in Answer to this, it is to be observed, that in the first Passage here alluded to in the cxth *Psalms*, our Saviour is there called *Lord*; and yet *Jehovah* is said by St. Peter, to have made him both *Lord* and *Christ*. And in the second Passage here quoted, the *Psalmist* speaks of him as *God*; yet at the same Time declares God the Father to be his God. And the same Method of speaking is continued in the Scriptures, not only while he was here in this World, subject to Mortality; but after he had overcome Death, and the Grave, even after his Resurrection; at which Time, he also acknowledges God the Father to be his God: For when *Mary* would have approached unto him, he said, [9] *Touch me not*, or, do not stay to touch or mind me at present, for I am not yet ascended unto my Father; but go to my Brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father, UNTO MY GOD, AND YOUR GOD. And the Apostle *Paul*, in speaking of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, even after his Ascension, after his Exaltation, after he had been seated [1] at the Right Hand of God, far above all Principality, and Power, and Might, and Dominion, speaks of God the Father, as still being his God. For, says he, [2] *Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*. And again, he saith to the *Ephesians*, Wherefore, I cease not to give Thanks for you, that the God of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, the Father

[8] Matth. xxvii. 46.
20, 21.

[9] John xx. 17.

[1] Eph. i.

[2] Eph. i. 3.

of Glory, may give unto you the Spirit of Wisdom. And in the Revelation of St. *John*, the Apostle speaking of *Jesus*, saith, [3] *who hath made us Kings and Priests TO HIS GOD AND FATHER.*

XCIX. And indeed the whole Conduct and Behaviour and Doctrine of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, while he was in this World, was correspondent thereto ; for he not only speaks of the Superiority of God the Father in general Words, as when he says, in express Terms, [4] *the Father is greater than I*; and again, *the Father is greater than all*: But acknowledges that his whole Conduct, not only while he was in this World, but before he came into it, before he had taken human Nature upon himself, was in Submission to the Will and Commands of God. For he acknowledges, in numberless Places, that it was the Father who sent him, and gave him a *Commandment* what to do. [5] *For*, says he, *I must work the Work of him that SENT me*; and again he says, *The Father which SENT me, he GAVE ME A COMMANDMENT, what I should say, and what I should speak.* And again, *As the Father GAVE ME A COMMANDMENT, so do I.* We may therefore fairly argue, as our Saviour himself does upon another Occasion, that [6] *as the Servant is not equal to his Lord, neither is he that is sent equal to him that sent him.* He therefore also acknowledged, that all the Power he was possessed of, not only natural, but supernatural, was received from the Father, and was [7] given unto him. And this not only while he was upon Earth, while he was clogged and fettered with the Shackles of Mortality: But even after his Resurrection, and Ascension, and Exaltation, he declares, that all the Power which he had in Heaven and Earth, was [8] *given unto him* of the Father. And some

[3] *Τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ*, Rev. i. 6.

[4] John xiv. 28. x. 29. [5] John ix. 4. xii. 49. xiv. 31, &c. &c. [6] John xiii. 16. [7] John v. 26. xvii. 2, 7, 8, 9, 11, &c. &c. [8] Matth. xxviii. 18.

Years after that, *St. Paul*, in his Epistle to the [9] *Corinthians*, saith, *But I would have you know, that the Head of every Man is Christ; and the Head of the Woman is the Man; and the HEAD OF CHRIST IS GOD.*

C. And as *Moses* was commanded by God to obey the Voice of the *Angel*, which he sent to keep him in the Way; and to provoke him not, because *his Name was in him*; so the Lord *Jesus Christ* declares, that the Honour which is due unto him is on the Father's Account; that is, because he was sent from the Father: For, says he, [1] *The Father hath committed all Judgment to the Son, that all Men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father*: And then he adds the Reason, For, *he that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him.*

CI. It is likewise very remarkable, that in this Place, as well as in *Exodus xxiii. 21*, where God ordereth *Moses* and the *Israelites* to obey the Angel which was sent in his Name, the Incitement offered for *honouring* the one, as well as *obeying* the other, is the Power of *Judgment*, that was committed unto them. For, says God to *Moses*, *Beware of him, obey his Voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your Transgressions.* And in the New Testament, our Saviour observes, that ALL JUDGMENT WAS COMMITTED TO THE SON; *that all Men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father.*

CII. It is a Remark made by Sir *Isaac Newton*, that the Worship which is due from Man to God, is on account of the Dominion he hath over him. For, says he, “ [2] God is a relative Term, which has Reference to Subjects, and the Word Deity denotes the Dominion of God, not over his own Body, (as the ancient Philosophers imagined, who called God the Soul of the World) but over Subjects.” And

[9] 1 Cor. xi. 3. [1] John v. 22, 23.

[2] Newt. Prin. Schol. gener.

again, he saith, “ We arrive at the Knowledge of
 “ God, by considering his Properties and Attributes;
 “ by inquiring into the wise Formation and Consti-
 “ tution of all Things ; and searching into their fi-
 “ nal Causes ; but we worship and adore him on ac-
 “ count of his Dominion.” So that the Son be-
 cometh our God, not so much on account of his hav-
 ing been employed in our Creation, and *that by him*
God created the Worlds, as because *all Judgment is com-*
mitted unto him, this being the great Obligation of all
 Duty : There being no Reason for Men to lay them-
 selves under any Restraint, in obeying or disobeying
 the Commands of any Being, which hath no Power
 over them.

CIII. Now the Reason why Almighty God was
 pleased to commit this Power of Judgment unto the
 Son, is also assigned ; for, says our Lord Jesus, [3]
The Father hath given to the Son Authority to execute
Judgment ; because he is the Son of Man. That is, as a
 Reward for having taken human Nature upon him.
 For, upon the Fall of *Adam*, this Son of God, being
 willing to undertake the Redemption of Mankind, [4]
he was accordingly ANOINTED [5] *of God for to do what-*
soever his Hand and his Counsel predetermined to be done.
 That is, he was [6] *anointed* to do and to suffer,
 whatsoever it should please God for him to do or to
 suffer. And for an Encouragement in which Under-
 taking, God was pleased to propose to this his anoint-
 ed Son, that, on the Performance of such Things as
 God should appoint for him to do, he should be ex-
 alted to [7] *Joy and Glory.*

[3] John v. 26, 27.

[4] Acts iv. 27, 28.

[5] Hence called the *Messiah*, which literally signifies the *anointed*.

[6] Or *appointed*. This Term of *anointing* being made use of,
 instead of *appointing*, in compliance with the human Custom of *an-*
ointing Persons, when they were *appointed* to the Administration
 of particular Offices, such as either *King*, *Priest*, or *Prophet*. See
 1 Sam. xiii. 1. 2 Sam. ii. 7. Exod. xxix. 7. Isai. lxi. 1.

[7] Heb. xii. 2. 1 Pet. i. 11.

CIV. When therefore, in the Fulness of Time, it pleased God to send forth his Son, who being [8] in *the Form of God*, nevertheless divested himself of that Glory, which he had with the Father before the World was, and [9] *came down from Heaven, not to do his own Will, but the Will of him that sent him*; [1] *The Spirit having testified beforehand the Sufferings of Christ, and the Glory that should follow*; he therefore [2] *for the Joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the Shame*: [3] *Wherefore God also hath highly EXALTED him, and [4] set him at his own Right-hand EXALTED, [5] and hath given him a Name that is above every Name, that [6] IN THE NAME OF JESUS every Knee should bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things in Earth, and Things under the Earth: And that every Tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is LORD, to the Glory of GOD the Father.*

CV. Wherefore Jesus having [7] *finished the Work which his Father gave him to do, and manifested his Name unto Men, that they might know God the Father the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent*; and having persisted therein unto Death, [8] *that he might reconcile both Jews and Gentiles unto God in one Body by the Cross*: And having been, [9] *for the suffering of Death, crowned with Glory and Honour*; instead of the Portion of *Israel*, which had been before the Line or Boundary of his Inheritance; he had now [1] *Power given him over all Flesh*. And [2] *all Nations were made of one Blood under him, and the Bounds of their Habitations were brought within the Line of his Inheritance*: And [3] *there was given unto him Dominion,*

[8] Phil. ii. 6.

[9] 1 John iv. 34. v. 30. vi. 38, 42.

[1] 1 Pet. i. 11.

[2] Heb. xii. 2.

[3] Phil. ii. 9.

[4] Acts ii. 33. Eph. i. 20, &c.

[5] Phil. ii. 9, 10, 11.

[6] Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι.

[7] John xvii. 4. vi. 3.

[8] Eph. ii. 16.

[9] Heb. ii. 9.

[1] John xvii. 2.

[2] Acts xvii. 26.

[3] Dan. vii. 14.

and Glory, and a Kingdom, that all People, Nations, and Languages should serve him.

CVI. From this Time forth, therefore, his Disciples were sent unto [5] *all Nations* to [6] *preach the Gospel unto every Creature*. And what is remarkable is, that, from this Time, the same *Holy Spirit*, which, under the *Mosaical Dispensation*, [7] spake by the Prophets, and had only illuminated the Minds of those of the Sons of *Israel*, to whom the *Word of God* came, was, through the Intercession of *Jesus Christ*, conferred upon all Mankind that believe on him, of what Nation soever they be, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*; and shed forth his benign Influence on all those who come to God through *Jesus Christ*: That [8] *through him both Jews and Gentiles may have an Access by one Spirit unto the Father*. That [9] *the Blessing of Abraham*, wherein it was promised, that in his Seed should all the Nations of the Earth be blessed, *might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ, that they might receive the Promise of the Spirit through Faith*: And that [1] *all might be baptized into one Body, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, whether they be bond or free, and might all be made to drink into one Spirit*.

CVII. When therefore *Jesus Christ the Lord* was raised from the Dead, and formally invested in the Possession of that Kingdom which [2] *the Father had appointed unto him*; having received from the Father the Promise of the Holy Spirit, he shed forth this Holy Spirit [3] *abundantly*, as well upon the [4] *Gentiles* as the *Jews*, putting no Difference between them. Which Holy Spirit is sometimes in the Language of the Scriptures of the New Testament, called *the Spirit of God* the Father, because he [5] *proceedeth from the Father* who sent him unto us; and sometimes *the Spirit*

[5] Matth. xxviii. 10.
27. and Nicene Creed.

[6] Mark xvi. 15.

[7] 2 Pet. i.

[8] Eph. ii. 18.

[9] Gal. iii. 14.

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 13.

[2] Luke xxii. 29.

[3] Tit. iii. 6.

[4] Acts xi. 15.

[5] John xv. 26.

of the Son, or the Spirit of Christ, because it was by the Intercession of Jesus Christ that the Supply of this Holy Spirit was sent unto us; and is also called [6] the Spirit of Truth, because it was sent to guide Mankind into all Truth.

CVIII. Now St. *John* plainly calleth that *Holy Spirit*, by which he was inspired with the Book of *Revelations*, an *Angel*. For his Words are these, [7] *The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his Servants Things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by HIS ANGEL unto his Servant John.* And yet through this whole Book, he calls this Revelation, the Dictates of the Spirit. [8] *He that hath Ears to hear, says he, let him hear what the SPIRIT saith unto the Churches.* And it is very remarkable, that although the *Virgin Mary* is positively said to have been [9] *found with Child of the Holy Spirit*, and to have conceived of the *Holy Spirit*; yet the Person sent to her from God upon this Occasion, calls himself an *Angel*, and in particular [1] *the Angel Gabriel that standeth in the Presence of God*; who, under the old Covenant, had been sent to inspire [2] *Daniel* with Skill and Understanding.

CIX. Which [3] *Angel GABRIEL being sent from God unto the Virgin Mary, The ANGEL, says St. Luke, came in unto her, and said, Hail, thou art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: Blessed art thou among Women. Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy Womb, and bring forth a Son, and shalt call his Name Jesus. Then said Mary unto the ANGEL, How shall this be, seeing I know not a Man? And the ANGEL answered and said unto her, THE HOLY SPIRIT shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy Thing, which shall be born of thee, shall be called the*

[6] John xvi. 13. xiv. 26. 1 John ii. 20, 27. [7] Rev. i. 1.

[8] Rev. ii. 7, 11, 17, 19. iii. 6, 13, 22. [9] Matth. i. 18,

20. [1] Luke i. 19, 26.

[2] Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21.

[3] Luke i. 26.

Son of God. And Mary said, Behold the Handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy Word.

CX. Which is all the Account we have of this Affair, but that after she returned from her Cousin Elizabeth's, where she had remained three Months, [5] *she was found to be with Child, before she and Joseph, to whom she was espoused, had come together; then Joseph her Husband being a [6] good-natured Man, and not willing to make her a public Example, was minded to put her away privately. But while he thought on these Things, behold THE ANGEL of the Lord appeared unto him in a Dream, saying, Joseph, thou Son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy Wife: For that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Spirit. Then Joseph, being raised from his Sleep, did as the ANGEL of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his Wife: And knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born Son.*

CXI. The pre-existent Spirit of the *Logos* being therefore, by the wonderful Power and Will of God, conveyed into the Womb of the Virgin by the Ministration of the Holy Spirit, she conceived and brought forth *Jesus*: By which Union of that exalted Spirit with human Nature, the *Logos* became incarnate, and was made Man. Which *Logos* did, by this Piece of Condescension, so far ἐκένωσε ἑαυτὸν, [7] *empty himself*, and divest himself of that Glory of his antecedent State, which he had with the Father, before the World was, that, Sin only excepted, he became liable and subject to all the Infirmities of our Nature. And therefore, during the Time of his Continuance here upon Earth, he is represented all along as being under the Guidance and Conduct of the *Holy Spirit*.

[5] Matth. i. 18, 19, 20. [6] Δίκαιος. This Word is often used to signify a *good-natured* Person, in which Sense also the Word *justus* is frequently used in the *Latin* Tongue. And in this Sense this Word ought to be understood, Acts x. 22. 1 John i. 9. [7] Phil. ii. 7.

CXII. He is accordingly said to have been [8] *led up of the Spirit into the Wilderness to be tempted of the Devil*: And that when the [9] *Devil had ended his Temptation*, Jesus returned in the Power of the Spirit into Galilee. That afterwards he, [1] *cast out Devils by the Spirit of God*, which [2] *descended upon him at his Baptism in a [3] visible Manner*, and *abode upon him* for some Time. He is therefore said to have been [4] *anointed with the Holy Spirit, and with Power*: And that when he was in an Agony praying with Vehemence to God, that, if possible, the Cup of his Afflictions might pass from him, [5] *an Angel appeared unto him from Heaven, strengthening him*: That it was through [6] *the eternal Spirit*, that he offered himself without Spot to God upon the Cross: That when he was in the Grave, he was [7] *quickened by the Spirit*, and [8] *declared to be the Son of God with Power, according to the Spirit of Holiness, by the Resurrection from the Dead*.

CXIII. And indeed it does not appear, either in the Old or New Testament, that the *Logos* had any Power over the Holy Spirit, till after his Ascension, [9] *when all Power was given unto him, both in Heaven and Earth*. For, said Jesus to his Disciples, [1] *It is expedient for you, that I go away; for if I go not away, the COMFORTER will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you*. For, [2] *I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may*

[8] Matth. iv. 1. [9] Luke iv. 13, 14. [1] Matth. xii. 8. [2] John i. 22. [3] *i. e.* By the Descent of a lucid shining Appearance, which alighted, and rested upon him, *ὡς τὸ περιστερὸν*, as a Dove. Not that this alludes to the Form and Figure of the Appearance, as if it was in the Shape of a Dove; but to the Manner of its Descent, which descended and alighted upon our Saviour, as a Dove descends and lights upon any thing. See Sect. lxxxii. and *Whitby* on Luke iii. 26.

[4] Acts x. 38. See Note in Sect. ciii. [5] Luke xxii. 42, 43. [6] Heb. ix. 14. [7] 1 Pet. iii. 18. [8] Rom. iii. 4. [9] Matth. xxviii. 18, 19. [1] John xvi. 7. [2] John xiv. 16.

abide with you for ever ; even the Spirit of Truth, [3] which proceedeth from the Father : Whom I will send to you from the Father. For, as St. John remarks, [4] the Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified. He therefore, after his Resurrection, commanded his Disciples [5] not to depart from Jerusalem, till after his Ascension, but to wait for the Promise of the Father. Which having [6] received of the Father, he shed it forth upon them. From which Time, this Spirit is indifferently called the Spirit of God, and [7] the Spirit of Christ, or [8] the Spirit of the Son ; because the Son had now obtained Power of the Father, to send him, not to the Jews only, but also to the Gentiles ; that all Nations might be baptized, [9] in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit ; [1] that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Spirit. It seems therefore highly reasonable, that we should pay divine Homage to that Holy Spirit, in Proportion to the Degree of Power which hath been delegated to him from the Almighty ; and that it is our Duty to pray to him, for the Communication of those sanctifying Graces, which he hath received Power from God the Father, through the Son, to distribute to his Disciples. I do not say, that we ought to pray to him for the Forgiveness of our Sins, because [2] all Judgment hath not been committed unto him : But as he was undoubtedly sent to be our [3] Comforter, to guide us into all Truth, and to help our Infirmities, surely we ought to pray to him, to comfort us, and to grant us his Assistance, that we may be [4] led by him, and that we may, of the Spirit, reap Life everlasting. And as

[3] John xv. 26.

[4] John vii. 39.

[5] Luke xxiv.

49. Acts i. 4.

[6] Acts ii. 33.

[7] Rom. viii. 9.

[8] Gal. iv. 6.

[9] Matth. xxviii. 19.

[1] Rom. xv.

16.

[2] See Sect. lxxxv, c, ci, cii.

[3] John xiv. 26.

John xvi. 13. Rom. viii. 26.

[4] Rom viii. 14. Eph. vi. 8.

1 Cor. xii. 7, &c.

the Manifestation of the Spirit was given to every Man to profit withal ; and as to one is given by the Spirit the Word of Wisdom, and to another the Word of Knowledge, by the same Spirit, dividing to every Man severally as he will ; surely it is but reasonable, that we should apply to that Holy Spirit, who [5] searcheth in our Hearts the deep Things of God, to confer such a Portion of his Influence on our Minds, as may, by Degrees, [6] quicken and strengthen us ; till we shall be at length filled therewith. Left also, on the other Hand, by neglecting so manifest a Duty, we should thereby [7] grieve, and do such Despite to the Spirit of Grace, as entirely to quench it. See Sect. lxxxiv, lxxxv.

CXIV. I apprehend therefore, it is manifestly shewed in these Papers, that from the Consideration of the Nature of Spirit, by the Light of Reason, it appears, there can be but one God, that is, one supreme intelligent Agent ; which one God may, however, create an infinite Series of spiritual Agents, in Subordination one to another ; some of which may, by an Authority communicated to them from the supreme God, act *as Gods*, with regard to those inferior Beings who are committed unto their Charge. I apprehend it likewise appears from the Sentiments of the *Jews*, as well as from the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, that this is the Method of Government, which the Almighty hath been pleased to pursue in the Oeconomy of this Universe ; still reserving to himself that incommunicable Quality of *Supreme*, which it would be a Contradiction to suppose him divested of, either with or without his Will ; that is, either by his own Consent, or by Necessity.

CXV. It may not therefore be improper to consider what was the Opinion of the most early Fathers of the Christian Church upon this Head ; which, tho' it

[5] 1 Cor. ii. 10. [6] 1 Pet. iii. 18. Eph iii. 16. v. 8.
[7] Eph. iv. 3. Heb. x. 29. 1 Thess. v. 9.

ought to have no Weight against the exprefs Dictates either of Reason or Revelation, yet, in Points not fully or distinctly revealed, the consulting of them is very proper and useful ; as they certainly are the best Evidence that can possibly be had of the Sentiments of the Church in their Times ; and the nearer that those Fathers lived to the Times of the Apostles, they may justly be supposed to be the less liable to have varied from any of the Doctrines or Practices of the truly primitive Church.

CXVI. Now if we consult the Opinion of the Fathers upon this Subject, for the first three hundred Years after Christ, we shall find them all universally agreeing in the aforementioned Doctrine : As may appear by consulting *Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tatian, Irenæus, the Author of the Recognitions, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius of Alexandria, Lactantius, &c.* out of which it seems needless to produce any Quotations, as this Point is plainly given up by three of the most learned Persons of the last Age ; two of whom being of a contrary Opinion from those Fathers, cannot be suspected of lightly giving up a Testimony of so much Consequence, if the Flagrancy of the Truth had not obliged them to it : And these are the judicious Mr. *Chillingworth*, the learned Bishop *Bull*, and the discerning Dr. *Cudworth*. The Opinion of Mr. *Chillingworth* is to be found in a Letter of his to a Friend, who desired to know what Judgment might be made of *Arianism*, from the Sense of Antiquity. In answer to which Mr. *Chillingworth* wrote the following Letter :
 “ I was mistaken in my directing you to *Eusebius* for
 “ the Matter you wot of. You shall find it a Wit-
 “ nefs much farther from Exception herein than *Eusebius* ; even *Athanasius* himself, the greatest Adver-
 “ sary of that Doctrine ; and *Hilary*, who was his
 “ second. See the first in *Ep. de Synodis Arim. & Se-*
 “ *leuc.* p. 917. D. Tom. 1. Edit. Par. 1627. See the
 second

“ second, *De Synodis*, fol. 97. In the first you shall
“ find, that the Eighty Fathers, which condemned Sa-
“ mosatenus, affirmed expressly, — *That the Son is not*
“ *of the same Essence of the Father.* Which is to con-
“ tradict formally the Council of Nice, which de-
“ creed *the Son coessential to the Father.* In the second
“ you shall find these Words, to the same Purpose :
“ *Octoginta Episcopi olim respuerunt τὸ Homoousion.* See
“ also, if you please, *Iust. cont. Tryph.* p. 283, 356,
“ 357 ; *Tertullian against Praxeas*, cap. ix ; *Novat.*
“ *de Trin. in fine*, who is joined with *Tertul. Athanas.*
“ *Ep. de fide div. Alex. Tom. i.* p. 551 ; *Basil, Tom. ii.*
“ p. 802, 803. *Ed. Par.* 1618. See *St. Hierom, A-*
“ *pol. ii. contra Ruff. Tom. ii.* p. 329. *Par.* 1579. See
“ *Petav. upon Epiph. his Panar. ad Hæres.* 69. *quæ*
“ *est Arii*, p. 285. And consider well how he clears
“ *Lucian the Martyr*, from *Arianism*, and what he
“ there confesses of all the ancient Fathers.

“ If you could understand *French*, I would refer
“ you to *Perron*, p. 633, of his Reply to King
“ *James* ; where you should find these Words : *If a*
“ *Man should demand of an Arian, if he would submit to*
“ *the Judgment of the Church of the Ages precedent to*
“ *that of Constantine, he would make no Difficulty of*
“ *it ; but would press himself that the Controversy might*
“ *be decided by that little which remains to us of the Au-*
“ *thors of that Time.* For an Arian would find in Ire-
“ næus, Tertullian, and others which remain of those
“ Ages, that the Son is the Instrument of the Father ;
“ that the Father commanded the Son in the Works of
“ Creation ; that the Father and the Son are ALIUD ET
“ ALIUD ; which Things he that should now hold, now
“ when the Language of the Church is more examined,
“ would be esteemed a very Arian.

“ If you read *Bellarmino* touching this Matter, you
“ should find that he is troubled exceedingly to find
“ any tolerable Glosses for the Speeches of the Fa-
“ thers before the Council of Nice, which are against

“ him; and yet he conceals the strongest of them,
 “ and to counterpoise them, cites Authors that have
 “ indeed ancient Names, but such as he himself has
 “ stigmatized for spurious or doubtful, in his Book
 “ *De Script. Eccles.*

“ Were I at Leisure, and had a little longer Time,
 “ I could refer you to some that acknowledge *Origen's*
 “ Judgment to be also against them in this Matter.
 “ And *Fisher*, in his Answer to Dr. *White's* Nine
 “ Questions, has a Place almost parallel to the above
 “ cited out of *Perron*.

“ In a Word, whosoever shall freely and impartially
 “ consider of this Thing; and how, on the other Side,
 “ the ancient Fathers Weapons against the *Arians*, are
 “ in a Manner only Places of Scripture (and those
 “ now for the most part discarded as impertinent and
 “ unconcluding) and how, in the Argument drawn
 “ from the Authority of the ancient Fathers, they
 “ are almost always Defendants, and scarce ever Op-
 “ ponents; he shall not choose, but confess, or at
 “ least be very inclinable to believe, that the Doctrine
 “ of *Arius* is either a Truth, or at least no damnable
 “ Heresy [7].”

The Words of Bishop *Bull*, when speaking of the
 Sentiments of *Origen* upon this Subject, are these: “ I
 “ conclude thus with myself, that *Origen*, who hath
 “ been so severely censured by Divines, both ancient
 “ and modern, was really *Catholic* in the Article of the
 “ sacred Trinity; although, in the manner of ex-
 “ plaining that Article, he sometimes speaks other-
 “ wise, than the *Catholics* do; [8] *which is no more*
 “ *than almost all the Fathers did, who lived before the*
 “ *Council of Nice.*” As for Dr. *Cudworth*, he does

[7] See the Life of Mr. *Chillingworth*, written by *Des Maizeaux*,
 p. 51.

[8] Quod ipsi cum reliquis fere omnibus Patribus, qui Conci-
 lium Nicænum antecesserunt, commune fuit. Bulli *Def. Fid. Nic.*
 Sect. xi. c. 9. § 22.

not only give up the primitive Fathers, in their Expressions, but also in their Meaning. For, as he undoubtedly thought himself to be in the Right, he imagined those Fathers to have been in an Error; and makes use of this universal Consent of the ancient Fathers of the Three first Centuries, in asserting the Dependence and Subjection of the Son to the Father, as an Argument in Proof of the Fallibility of the primitive Fathers of the Christian Church. For, says he, [9] " Though it be true, that *Athanasius*, writing against the *Arians*, does appeal to the Tradition of the ancient Church, and, among others, cites *Origen's* Testimony; yet was this only for the Eternity and Divinity of the Son of God, but not at all for such an absolute Coequality of him with the Father, as would exclude all *Dependence*, *Subordination*, and *Inferiority*: Those Ancients so unanimously agreeing therein, that they are therefore by *Petavius* taxed with *Platonism*; and having, by that Means, corrupted the Purity of the Christian Faith, in this Article of the Trinity. Which how it can be reconciled with those other Opinions of Ecclesiastical Tradition being a Rule of Faith, and the Impossibility of the visible Churches erring in any fundamental Point, cannot, says he, easily be understood."

CXVII. For my own Part, I will readily give up the Fallibility of the primitive Fathers, and whoever will but give himself the Trouble of perusing their Writings, will soon be convinced, that they were fallible Men; and I therefore only make use of their Testimony in this Point, to shew what was the Sense of the Church in their Days, of which their own Writings are an infallible Proof; whether they were fallible in themselves or not.

[9] Cud. *Intell. Syst.* l. i. c. 4. p. 595.

CXVIII. But *Petavius*, says *Cudworth*, taxed the primitive Fathers with *Platonism*, and with having, by that Means, corrupted the Purity of the Christian Faith. That many of the primitive Fathers were bred up in the Schools of the *Platonic* Philosophers can hardly be denied; and that they would be inclined to endeavour to reconcile their own Principles and those of the Christian Religion together, is more than probable. It is also certain, that the *Pagans* held the Doctrine of a *Trinity*, and made use of that Word to express it by; but if it can be proved, that they held a Subordination in the Persons of the *Trinity* before Christianity appeared in the World, and that all the primitive Christians, whether *Platonists* or not, held also the Doctrine of a Subordination of Power, in the Persons of the *Trinity*, for the first Three hundred Years after *Christ*; then the more probable Consequence to be drawn from thence, is this, That the Doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the primitive Christians, coinciding with the Doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the *Pagans* in general, and by the *Platonists* in particular, wherein a Subordination of Power between the Three Persons of the Trinity was a fundamental Principle, this might be one main Reason, why the *Platonists* were so ready to embrace the Christian Religion: And not that they corrupted it after they had embraced it; since, had their Principles, and the *Christians* on this Subject originally differed, the *Platonists* would not have been so easily made Converts.

CXIX. It may therefore not be improper at present to set before the Reader a short Sketch of the Doctrine of the *Pagan* Trinity, from whence will appear the Truth of what I have just now asserted.

CXX. The Opinion of the *Egyptians* concerning the *Trinity*, may be found in *Jamblichus*, who delivers it unto us. For in the Beginning of the Eighth Section, he makes *Porphry* ask, “What do the *Egyptians*”

“ tians say is the *First Cause*? Is it Intellect, or some-
 “ thing above Intellect? Or, is it one only Being, or
 “ is it two, or more? Or, is it corporeal, or incorpo-
 “ real? Or, is it the same with the Creator of this
 “ Universe, or something superior? In short, were
 “ all Things produced by *One*, or by *Many*?” To

which *Jamblichus* answereth, *Πρὸ τῶν ὄντως ὄντων, ἢ τῶν ὄλων ἀρχῶν ἐστὶ θεὸς εἷς, πρῶτος ἢ τῆ πρώτης θεᾶς ἢ βασιλέως, ἀκίνητος ἐν μονότητι τῆς ἑαυτῆς ἐνότητος μένων, ὥστε ᾧ νοητὸν αὐτῷ ἐπιπλέκεται, ὥτε ἄλλο τι. Παράδειγμα τῷ ἰδρυταί τῆ αὐτῆς πατρὸς, αὐτογόνου, καὶ μονοπάτορος θεῶς, τῆ ὄντως ἀγαθῆς. Μείζον γάρ τι καὶ πρῶτον καὶ πηγὴ τῶν πάντων, καὶ πυθμὴν τῶν νοημένων πρώτων εἶδων ὄντων. Ἀπὸ τῆ τῆς ἐνὸς τῆς, ὁ αὐτάρχης θεὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξέλαμψε· διὸ καὶ αὐτοπάτωρ, καὶ αὐτάρχης. Ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ θεὸς θεῶν· μονὰς ἐκ τῆς ἐνὸς, πρὸ ἐσίας ἢ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐσίας· ἀπ’ αὐτῆς γὰρ ἡ ἐσιότης ἢ ἡ ἐσία· διὸ γὰρ νοητάρχης προσαγορεύεται. Αὗται μὲν ἂν εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ πρεσβύταιαι πάντων, ὥς Ἑρμῆς πρὸ τῶν αἰθερίων ἢ ἐμπυρίων θεῶν προσάττει, ἢ τῶν ἐπερρινίων. Which is thus rendered into Latin by Mr. Gale: *Ante eas res quæ vere sunt, ἔστι ante Principia universalium, est Deus unus, prior etiam primo Deo ἔστι Rege; est ille immobilis in solitudine suæ Unitatis permanens, neque enim intellectuale ei miscetur, neque aliquid aliud, estque exemplar sui ipsius patris, de se geniti ἔστι unipater Deus; ἔστι vere bonus. Est enim majus quid ἔστι prius, Fons omnium ἔστι Radix intelligibilium Idearum primarum Entium. Ab hoc autem uno, Deus, per se sufficiens se ipse explicavit; proinde est sui Pater ἔστι sibi sufficiens. Est enim hic ἔστι Principium, ἔστι Deus Deorum, Unitas ex uno, ante essentiam, ἔστι Essentiæ Principium; nam ab eo fluit Entitas ἔστι Essentia, quapropter Noetarcha dicitur. Hæc igitur sunt Principia omnium antiquissima, quæ Mercurius supra Deos æthereos ἔστι empyreos, ἔστι cælestes constituit.**

CXXI. I would have translated this Passage into *English*, if I could; but there are some Parts of it, which seem to me so superintelligible, that I thought it advisable to give it in the Author's own Words;

and

and refer the *English* Translation of it to some of those Deistical Admirers of the Plainness and Simplicity of the Religion of Nature, who cannot bear the Thoughts of any thing that is mysterious in Revealed Religion.

CXXII. Abstruse and dark however, as it is, we may be furnished by it with some Light towards the Explanation of some Expressions in the *Pythagorean* Trinity, as it is given us by [1] *Simplicius*, in his Comment on *Aristotle*, out of *Moderatus* the *Pythagorean*: τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄν ἢ πᾶσαν ἔσσαν ἀποφαίνεται· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐν ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ὄντως ὄν, ἢ νοητὸν τὰ εἶδη Φησὶν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ψυχικόν, μέλειχειν τῇ ἐνός, ἢ τῶν εἰδῶν. For it is plain that the πρῶτον ἐν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄν ἢ πᾶσαν ἔσσαν, of the *Pythagoreans*, that is, the *First One who is above Being, and all Existence*, is the same (I had almost said *Being*) with that God of the *Egyptians*, who being prior to the First God, is *Super-intelligible*. That the τὸ δεύτερον ἐν ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ὄντως ὄν, ἢ νοητὸν, τὰ εἶδη Φησὶν εἶναι. That is, the *Second One, who is Existence itself, and Intelligence, and is called IDEA*, is that First, or rather Second God aforementioned, who, according to the *Egyptians*, having unfolded himself, came forth into Being, and was self-begotten, and was equally his own Father and his own Son, who is the Principle of all Existence, and of all Intelligence. As to the τὸ τρίτον ἐν, or *Third One*, of the *Pythagoreans*, which they call ψυχικόν, or *Animal*, that answers to the third and lower Class of the *Empyrean* and *Ætherial* Deities, who are supposed to preside over several Parts of this Universe, being as it were the Souls of this World.

CXXIII. The *Platonic* Trinity, as it was digested into Form by the Disciples of *Plato*, was not very different from this. There is indeed no one Passage in *Plato*, where his Notion of a Deity is delivered

[1] *Simpl. in Phys. Arist. fol. 50.*

explicitly, and reduced into a regular System. For, either out of Fear of his Countrymen, or because he was not settled in his own Notions, or both, he speaks very obscurely on this Subject. That Treatise which he entitles *Timæus*, is the most copious on this Head, and therein he speaks plainly of [2] one sempiternal and unoriginated God. Which God, says *Plato*, when he reasoned within himself about a future God, made this Universe, and placed this [3] perfectly happy God which he begat, as the Soul in the middle of it.

CXXIV. Which God, though he frequently mentions as a created Being, yet he styles him also [4] *the IMAGE of Intelligence*, or of the most intelligent God; *the greatest and best, the most beautiful, and the most perfect, and the only-begotten God*. Which Universe, says *Plato*, when he had thus made and [5] contemplated, he rejoiced over it. He then made *Time*, and [6] formed the Sun and Moon, and five other Planets, to be the Measures thereof. But as there were yet no Animals, therefore God formed what was wanting, by a *secondary Imitation of the first Exemplar*: πρὸς τὴν τῆ παρδείμματος ὑποπλάσας φύσιν. Which is plainly borrowed from that Doctrine among the *Jews*, wherein they asserted Man not to be made in the Image of the Supreme God, but of the Second God. The Words of *Philo Judæus*; as they are quoted by *Eusebius*, are, Θυητὸν γὰρ εἰδὲν ἀπεικονιοθεῖναι πρὸς τὸν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δεύ-

[2] Τὸ ὃν αἰὶ, γέμισιν δὲ ἐκ ἑχον.

[3] Εὐδαίμονα θεὸν αὐτῶν

ἐγλήσατο.

[4] Ἐικόνα τῆ νοητῆς μέγιστον καὶ ἄριστον, κάλλιστον καὶ τελειώτατον, and μονογενῆ.

[5] Whoever reads this, I think, cannot avoid being convinced, that *Plato* herein imitates the Account which *Moses* gives of the Creation, which he signifies with saying, *And God saw every Thing that he had made, and behold it was very good*, Gen. i. 31.

[6] Ἑλίου καὶ Σελήνης, καὶ πέντε ἀλλα ἄστρα, ἐπικύλην ἔχοντα Πλάνης, εἰς διορισμὸν καὶ φυλακὴν αἰθρῶν γέγονεν. See Gen. i. 14; of which this is almost a Translation.

τέρον θεόν, ὃς ἐκείνους λόγῳ. *Nihil enim mortale in summi illius & rerum universarum Parentis imaginem consignari potest, sed in imaginem Secundi Dei, hoc est, ejus Verbi, potest.* Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 13.

CXXV. *Plato* then, in Compliance with the orthodox Notion of his Country, and for Fear of the Fate of *Socrates*, says, But as to other Gods, which are called [7] *Dæmons*, to speak properly of their Origin, or even to conceive it, is above the Reach of our Faculties; it is therefore our Duty to believe those our Ancestors, who, having unfolded their Natures, affirm them to be the Offspring of the Gods; and so to submit ourselves to the ancient Laws and Customs. And then he introduces the God, who [8] framed all Things, as speaking to these *Dæmons*, *Saturn, Ops, Jupiter, &c.* whom he calls [9] the Gods begotten by himself; and empowers them to be his Instruments in the Production of Animals, and [1] to imitate that Virtue which he had exercised in their Origin.

CXXVI. Whence it is plain, that *Plato* was afraid to speak out; but his Disciples, by Degrees, gathering Courage, his System was reduced into Form, before the Time of [2] *Porphyrus*, who, in his Fourth Book of the History of Philosophy, says, Ἀρχαὶ γὰρ τελευτῶν ὑποστάσεων, ἔφη Πλάτων, τὸν τῷ θεῷ προελθεῖν εἶσαν εἶναι τὸν μὲν ἀνώτατον θεόν τ' Ἀγαθόν, μετ' αὐτῷ τὸ καὶ δεύτερον πᾶν δημιουργόν, τρίτην δὲ τινὲς τῷ κόσμῳ ψυχῇ. *Ufque ad tres Hypostascs, dicit Plato, Dei progredi Essentiam; & esse quidem dicit Deum summe bonum; post*

[7] See Sect. xxxv. *ἑαυτῷ θεοῖς ἡμιθέοις.*

[8] Ὁς τὸ πᾶν κτίσας.

[9] Τοῖς

[1] Μιμέμφοι τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν περὶ τὴν ὑμῶν γένεσιν.

[2] *Porphyrus* flourished about the latter End of the third Century. His Books were afterwards ordered to be burnt; but the Quotation which I have here produced, may be found in *St. Cyril's Treatise against Julian*, B. viii.

illum autem secundum Conditorem; tertium autem Mundi Animam.

CXXVII. *Porphyry* was reckoned the most learned *Platonist* of his Age; and flourished about the Time when the consubstantial Doctrine of the Trinity began to make a Noise; and therefore his Sense of the *Platonic* Doctrine is so much the more for our Purpose. It appears therefore from hence, that the *Platonic* and *Pythagorean* Doctrine of the Trinity, did not differ very widely at this Time one from the other, and that That God of the *Egyptians*, which was prior to the first, or the $\Pi\rho\omega\tau\eta\nu$ $\epsilon\nu$ of the *Pythagoreans*, was the same with the $\tau\omicron$ $\epsilon\nu$, and the $\tau\omicron$ $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\nu$ of the *Platonists*. The God of *Existence*, *Ideas*, or *Intelligence*, according to the *Egyptians*, or the $\tau\omicron$ $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\nu$ of the *Pythagoreans*, which they also called $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta$, *Idea*, being by the *Platonists* called $\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$; i. e. *Mind* and *Reason*, or *Wisdom*. And the inferior Class of æthereal Deities, who were considered as the Soul of the World among the *Egyptians*, answering to the $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\nu$, or the $\epsilon\nu$ $\Psi\upsilon\chi\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$ of the *Pythagoreans*, being called $\Psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, i. e. the *Soul*, by the *Platonists*.

CXXVIII. They agreed also in the Offices which were assigned to these *Three Gods*. For the first was asserted to be $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho$, *above* all Existence and Intelligence. The Second God was Existence and Intelligence itself, and the Communicator of them to other Beings: He is therefore represented by them as the $\Delta\eta\mu\iota\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$, the *Fabricator*, and Maker of this Frame of the Universe. The Third God, who is said to partake both of the First and Second $\epsilon\nu$, or God, was held to be the *Soul* of the World, vivifying and enlivening it.

CXXIX. Hence it is plain, however, that the Disciples of *Plato* had varied from their Master's Plan. Because he positively asserts the one unoriginated God to have made this Universe, and therefore frequently

calls him the [3] Δημιουργός. He likewise positively asserts the Second, that is, the God who was begotten by the one unoriginated God, to have been placed by him in the middle of this round Universe, as [4] the *Soul* of it.

CXXX. It is nevertheless manifest, beyond all Controversy, that both *Plato* and his Disciples held a kind of essential Subordination to have existed between these Gods, as the *Hebrews* undoubtedly did. And therefore I suppose them to have been more easily converted to the *Christian* Religion than they otherwise would have been.

CXXXI. And accordingly *Clemens Alexandrinus*, one of those primitive Fathers whom *Cudworth* allows to have acknowledged a Subordination in the Persons of the Trinity, when speaking concerning a Passage in *Plato*, says, [5] “ *I understand this no otherwise, than that the holy Trinity is signified thereby, the THIRD being the Holy Spirit, and the SECOND the Son, by whom all Things were made, according to the Will of the FATHER.*” This Passage, to which *Clemens* refers, is to be found in the second Epistle of *Plato* to *Dionysius*, on account of his having complained, that *Plato* was not explicit enough in what he said about the *First Cause*; to whom *Plato* says, “ That these Things must be spoken of in a kind of *Riddle*; that if any Accident should happen to these Papers, either by Land or Sea, he that finds them may not be able to understand them. The Thing therefore, says he, stands thus: Περὶ τῶν πάντων βασιλεία πάντ' ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκείνους ἕνεκα πάντα. καὶ ἐκεῖν' ὁ αἰτίων αἰπάντων τῶν καλῶν δώτερον ὃ, πλεὶς τὰ δώτερον, καὶ τρίτον πλεὶς τὰ τρίτα.” *Circa omnium Regem sunt omnia, & illius Causa omnia: & ipse est omnium rerum pulchrarum Causa: Secundum ad Secunda, Tertium ad Tertia.* Which

[3] *Plato* in *Timæo*.[4] *Id. ibid.*[5] *Clem.**Alex. Strom. lib. v. p. 710. edit. Pot.*

Fear of a Discovery accounts for the seeming Contradictions in *Plato*, and the Darkneſs in which his Theology is involved, and ſhews that his Diſciples were indeed obliged to pick his Doctrines out of *Riddles*, as he himſelf expreſſeth it.

CXXXII. But [6] St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, who was of the contrary Opinion from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that is, who held a Coequality in the Perſons of the Trinity, for he lived in the fifth Century, and about 100 Years after the Council of *Nice*, wherein the Conſubſtantiality of the Father and the Son was firſt eſtabliſhed in the *Chriſtian* Church; *Cyril*, I ſay, when ſpeaking of the *Platonic* Philoſophy, [7] ſays, “There
“ would have been nothing at all wanting to the
“ *Platonic* Trinity, for an abſolute Agreement of it
“ with the *Chriſtian*, had they but accommodated the
“ right Notion of *Conſubſtantiality* to their three *Hypo-*
“ *poſtaſes*; ſo that there might have been but one
“ ſpecific Nature or Eſſence of the Godhead, not di-
“ ſtinguiſhable by any natural Diverſity, and ſo no
“ one *Hypoſtaſis* any way inferior or ſubordinate to
“ another.”

CXXXIII. As for the Doctrine of the *three Hypo-*
poſtaſes, which is here mentioned by *Cyril*, that was not the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, but was the Doctrine of the *Arians*, as well as of the *Platonists*. It was indeed afterwards adopted by ſome of the *Con-*
ſubſtantialists, and was inſerted in that Creed which goes under the Name of *Athanaſius*; but which could not poſſibly have been written by him, becauſe he, as well as the reſt of the *Nicene* Fathers, inſiſted upon it, that there was but [8] *one Hypoſtaſis* in the

[6] *Cyril* cont. *Jul.* lib. viii.

[7] *Idem*, *ibid.*

[8] *Athanaſius*, in his Treatiſe on the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia* [vol i. p. 934.] which was written towards the latter End of his Life, poſitively aſſerts: Ἡ δὲ ὑπόſτασις ἑστία ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σηματοειμένον ἔχει. *Hypoſtaſis* enim [*idem* cum *USIA*] *ſubſtantia* eſt, nec aliam ſignificationem habet. And to the ſame Purpoſe in ſeveral other Places.

Trinity, any more than one *Usia*, since they, contrary to the Doctrine of the *Platonists*, supposed those two Words to mean one and the same Thing; in which, however, they were certainly so far in the right. For the Word Οὐσία literally signifies a *Being* or *Existence*; and the Word ὑπόστασις literally signifies a *Subsistence*, or *Substance*; which hath been shewed in the [9] Beginning of this Treatise, to be the same with a *Being* or *Existence*. And accordingly the Greek Word Οὐσία is generally translated by the Latin Word *Substantia*. [1] *Socrates*, the Ecclesiastical Historian, who lived after *Cyril*, and was a very zealous *Consubstantialist*, when giving his Opinion concerning the Meaning of the Word ὑπόστασις, says, “ that this Word, according to “ *Irenæus*, was a barbarous Word; and was not to “ be found among the antient Authors. But, says *So-* “ *crates*, it is used by *Sophocles*, to signify a *Trap* or “ *Pit-fall*, to catch any thing in; and by *Menander*, “ to signify the Sediment of any thing; as for Ex- “ ample, if any one should call the *Lees* of Wine which “ fall to the Bottom, an *Hypostasis*. But though this “ Word was not used by the more ancient Philoso- “ phers; yet, says he, you must understand that the “ Moderns make use of it instead of Οὐσία.” To say therefore, that the three Persons in the Trinity are *one Usia* and *three Hypostases*, is the same thing as to say, that they are *one Substance* and *three Substances* at the same time; which I take to be a Contradiction in Terms, and therefore cannot be affirmed even of God himself.

CXXXIV. For when it is said, in the *Nicene Creed*, that the Son is [2] ἐκ τῆς ὑσίας τῷ πατρὶ, of the *Substance of the Father*, and that he is ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ, of *one Substance* with the Father, it is not meant thereby,

[9] See Sect ii.

[1] *Socrat. Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 7.*

[2] This is omitted in our *English* Copy of the *Nicene Creed*, though it was undoubtedly in the original *Greek*.

that he is one and the same Kind of Substance with the Father, but that he is actually one and the same *undivided* Substance with the Father. Wherein then, you will say, does the Difference consist? Why, according to *Cyril*, *not in any natural Diversity*, but *numerically only*; that is, in being said to be *three* Substances, at the same time that they are but *one Substance*.

CXXXV. I am very sensible that, in our *English* Translation of the Creed commonly called the *Athanasian* Creed, we have followed the Church of *Rome*, whose Infallibility can give what Signification it pleases to Words, in rendering the Word *ὑπόστασις*, by the *English* Word *Person*, that Church having rendered it by the *Latin* Word *Persona*. But let us see whether this will mend the Matter, which we shall find it does not, unless we make use of a shameful kind of Equivocation, by using the Word *Person* in two different Senses, or rather in no Sense at all. For that the Word *Person* is capable of two different Senses being put upon it is very plain; thus it is sometimes made use of to denote *that identical Personality, whereby any one intelligent Agent is distinguished from any other intelligent Agent*. As for Example, when it is said, *Numb. v. 6, 7*. “When a Man or Woman shall commit any Sin, that Men commit, to do a Trespas against the Lord, and that *Person* be guilty; then they shall confess their Sin which they have done,” &c. In this Place the Word *Person* is here put to denote the Man or Woman who was guilty of the Trespas: And can never signify any other Man or Woman but the offending one only; nor any more Persons than those that were guilty. According to which Sense of the Word, every separate Person must be considered as a separate intelligent Agent, and every separate intelligent Agent must be considered as a separate Person from every other intelligent Agent, and will for ever, if he exists so long, be the same Person he was, whether he repents or not, whether he is

young or old; or whether he exists in this World or in the next. And it would be a Contradiction in Terms to say, that this one Person is two different Persons, or that two different Persons is the same Person; for hence it is that the common Expression takes its Rise, when speaking of any one Man, we say, this is the very *individual Person*, who did such or such a Fact, because, if he could be *divided*, he would be no longer the same Person.

CXXXVI. But in this Sense of the Word, the *Consubstantialists* will not allow the Word *Person* to be applied to the three Persons in the Trinity, because this would make them as much three separate Beings, as *Matthew, Mark, and Luke*, are three separate Men: And would contradict the *Homoousian* Doctrine, which supposes the three Persons of the Trinity to be one *undivided Substance*, or, as *Cyril* expresseth it, *one specific Nature*, or *Essence*.

CXXXVII. Sometimes however this Word *Person* is made use of to denote only the Relation which one intelligent Agent bears to another; or the distinguishing Mark of his Character, whereby he is to be known from other intelligent Agents, or even from himself, either at different Times, or in different Circumstances. In which Sense of the Word the same individual Person, or intelligent Agent, may be considered as twenty different Persons all at the same Time. For thus the same intelligent Agent may be considered in the Person of a King, of a General, of an Ally, of a Philosopher, of a Father, or of a Son, of an Husband, or a Batchelor, of an old Man, or of a young Man, &c. &c. For, says *Stephens*, in his *Latin Thesaurus*, *Persona significat qualitatem eam, qua homo differt ab homine, tum in anima, tum in corpore, tum in extra positis; quæ a Rhetoricis annumerantur in Attributis Personæ: ut Hector ad Priamum Persona Filii est; ad Astyanactem Persona Patris; ad Andromachem Persona Mariti; ad Paridem Persona Fratris; ad Sarpedonem*

pedonam Amici ; ad Achillem Persona Inimici. In which Sense of the Word it is that that Expression must be understood, when *Moses* saith of God, that he [3] *regardeth not Persons*, by which is meant, not that God regardeth not Mankind, as they are so many intelligent Agents, but that he doth not respect Men on account of their personal Circumstances, or Characters, or Figure, or Relation in Life: But neither will the *Consubstantialists* allow this Interpretation of the Word *Person* to be applied to the three Persons in the Trinity; so as to be understood as if they were only three different Personages, or Characters, or Attributes of the same Being; because that would be manifest *Sabellianism*, and would not allow any real Existence to any of them but one.

CXXXVIII. And though they say, that one of these Persons is the *Father*, and the other the *Son*; they will not allow one to be prior or posterior to the other; but declare them both to be coequal and coeternal, which is by no means consistent with the Relation that there is between Father and Son: For though the Relation between two coequal coeternal Beings might bear some Analogy to the Denomination of *Brothers*, yet it seems absolutely inconsistent with that of Father and Son.

CXXXIX. But, in order to conduct us a little further into the Knowledge of this Affair, it may be proper to inquire into the Reasons, which seem to have led the Compilers of the *Nicene Creed* into this Determination of the Consubstantiality of the Father and Son.

CXL. The Doctrine of *Arius* was, that *the Son*, being begotten of the Father before all Times and all Ages, subsisted only through the Will of the Father: But that he was not eternal, that is, coeternal with the Father; nor did he come into Existence along with the Father.

[3] Deut. x. 17. Matth. xxii. 16. Mark xii. 14.

CXLI. In order to refute which Doctrine, the *Nicene* Bishops composed a Creed, wherein they asserted the Son to be *of the Substance of the Father*, and *consubstantial with the Father*; and at the End of the Creed annexed these three Anathemas, or damnatory Clauses: [4] Τὸς ὃ λέγοντας ὅτι ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε ἐκ ἧν, ἢ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι ἐκ ἧν, ἢ ὅτι ἐξ ἐκ ὧν ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ ὑσίας φάσκοντες εἶναι, ἢ κλισίον, ἢ τρεπλόν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν μὲν τῷ Θεῷ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἀγία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία. *But they who say, There was a Time when the Son was not, and that he did not exist before he was begotten: Or that say he was begotten out of nothing: Or that say he existed out of any other HYPOSTASIS, or USIA, than the Father; or was created, or is liable to Mutation or Change, the holy Catholic Apostolic Church anathematizes.*

CXLII. From whence it may be observed in the first Place, that these Fathers understood the Words *Usia* and *Hypostasis* in the same Sense, so as to mean one and the same thing; and that as the Son was of the same undivided, or individual *Usia*, so was he also in the same undivided, or individual *Hypostasis* with the Father. And possibly this may be the Reason why these Anathemas are omitted out of our present *Nicene* Creed; because they contradict in * Terms the *Athanasian* Creed, which asserts, that “there is one *Hypostasis* of the Father, and another of “the Son, and another of the Holy Spirit.”

[4] Socrat *Eccles. Hist.* lib. i. cap. 8.

[* This Contradiction is removed by the learned A. himself afterwards, *Vindic. of the Hist. of the O. and N. Test.* Part iii. Let. iv. by observing, after Dr. *Fortin's Rem. on Eccl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 97. that the *Nicene* Fathers meant by ὁμοῦσι, not of the same numerical or individual Substance, but the same generical Substance or Subsistence. As, amongst Men, a Son is ὁμοῦσι with his Father, that is, of the same human Nature; so, in their Opinion, the Son of God is ὁμοῦσι with the Father, that is, of the same divine Nature.]

CXLIII. But

CXLIII. But it does not seem so easy to explain what is meant by the first Anathema: *Cursed be they who say, There was a Time when the Son was not; and that he did not exist before he was begotten.* However, if it means any thing, it must be this; that whereas the *Arians* asserted, that the Son was begotten before all Time, and before all Ages; nevertheless they asserted, that although they would allow he might, upon that account, in some Sense be called eternal; yet that the Son could not be coeternal with the Father, because the Begetter must have existed before the Begotten. In order therefore to invalidate the Force of this Argument, and make the Son nevertheless coeternal with the Father, the *Nicene Bishops*, since they could not deny but the Begetter must have existed before the Begotten, seemed to have framed this Anathema; wherein they assert, in Imitation of *Irenæus*, and some few other metaphysical Writers, that the Son did exist before he was begotten: That is, that he did potentially exist in the Substance of the Father, out of which he was afterwards begotten.

CXLIV. And this is the Reason why they likewise anathematized, in the second Place, those who should say, that the Son was *begotten out of nothing*, in order to establish the following Doctrine of the Son being begotten out of the Substance of the Father; which Substance being undoubtedly coeternal with the Father; therefore the Son, who virtually [5] or potentially existed in it, must, according to their Method of Reasoning, also be coeternal.

CXLV. But, with humble Submission to such great Authority, this Assertion absolutely destroys the modern favourite Doctrine of the eternal Generation of the Son: Because, that although it should be allowed that the Son might possibly have virtually sub-

[5] Δυναμίς ἢ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἀφωρισως, *Potentia erat in Patre, ingenita quadam ratione.* Theod. Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. 12.

sisted from all Eternity, in the Substance, or Mind, of the Father, as every thing did, that either hath existed, or ever will exist, yet I suppose it a Contradiction in Terms to say, that he existed, as a Son, till he was begotten. And therefore that the *Nicene* Fathers have anathematized all such as will not affirm [6] a Contradiction.

CXLVI. And I cannot help saying, it is something odd to have these two Creeds established in the same Church, in one of which those are declared to be *accursed*, who deny the Son to be of the same *Usia*, or *Hypostasis*, with the Father; and in the other, it is declared, *they cannot be saved* who do not assert, that [7] *there is one Hypostasis of the Father, and another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost.*

CXLVII. But, in order to obviate all these objections, it is thought sufficient by some to say, that there are many Powers in the divine Nature, which human Beings are not capable of comprehending. Nay, so far are we Mortals from being able to comprehend the Divine Nature, that we know very little of the Things which are on Earth; that there is not one of all the various Things which surround us, that does not contain something in its Frame and Constitution, which is beyond the Abilities of the most subtle Philosopher to explain.

CXLVIII. Be it so. — Let us then acknowledge the narrow Limits of the human Understanding; which, I think, no-body, who looks within himself, can be without sensibly seeing and feeling: But then let us not turn such violent Sceptics, as to assert, that, because we do not know every thing, therefore we know nothing; that because we cannot see by Night

[6] For the Assertions of the *Arians* were, *ἢν ποτε, ὅτε ὁ υἱὸς ἦν ἄν, &c.* That *there was* (a Time) *when* THE SON *was not*, &c. Athan. vol. i. p. 97.

[7] *Athanasian Creed.*

as well as by Day, therefore we must not believe our own Eyes, even when the Sun shines directly over our Heads.

CXLIX. I shall therefore take it for granted, that there are some Truths in Nature, that are level to our Understandings, and that we may pronounce with some Degree of Certainty; for Example, that two and two make four; and that it is a Contradiction in Terms to say, that the same individual Substance, whether spiritual or corporeal, *can be*, and *not be*, at the same Time, and in the same Place. Now, if the Knowledge of these Propositions is within the Reach of our Understanding, then we may safely affirm, if the Father and Son are *consubstantial*, that is, if the Substance of the Father be the same undivided Substance with the Son; and that the Substance of the Son did enter into the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, and became incarnate; that then it will follow, of Consequence, that the Substance of the Father did enter into the Virgin's Womb, and was incarnate also. Since otherwise, one and the same individual Substance may be, and not be, at the same Time, and in the same Place.

CL. Again, if this Proposition be taken for granted, which may be found *totidem Verbis*, in the *Athanasian Creed*, that *as the reasonable Soul and Flesh is one Man, so God and Man is one Christ*; and if this other Proposition be allowed, which may be found as explicitly in the Scriptures, that this one [8] *Christ suffered* for the Sins of Mankind; then it must follow, of Consequence, that *Christ* suffered in his Godhead, as well as his Humanity; since otherwise, it would have been the Man *Jesus*, and not *Jesus the Messiah*, or *Christ*, that suffered for the Sins of Men.

CLI. Now as the Consideration of these Things is, so far at least, within the Reach of our Capacities,

[8] Heb. ix. 28. 1 Pet. ii. 21. iii. 18.

if we suppose the Premises aforementioned to be true, which the *Consubstantialists* will hardly deny; the Conclusions, which they will not allow, are, nevertheless, as demonstrably true, as any Proposition in the Mathematics.

CLII. But let us go a little further, and suppose, for the present, that these Things were above our Comprehension; and then I should be glad to be informed of the Reasons why those very Persons who roar so loud against the vain Attempts of Men, in scrutinizing *the Things which belong unto Heaven*, should take upon them to explain those Doctrines, which they themselves declare to be above the Reach of human Understandings.

CLIII. When the *Papists* want to persuade Men out of their Senses, and to prevail upon *Protestants* to acknowledge the absurd Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, they are very ample and florid in their Declamations upon the Immensity and Incomprehensibleness of God and his Attributes; and upon the Minuteness and Insufficiency of human Abilities; and are always setting forth, in the strongest Terms, how little we know, and how much we are ignorant. And therefore, say they, since our Saviour hath said, *This is my Body, and this is my Blood*, we ought to believe it to be so, though we could not comprehend the Manner how.

CLIV. All which would be undoubtedly right, and true, if they were to go no further. But if what they say be true, about the Weakness of human Understandings, how came they to have Abilities for explaining those Mysteries, which the rest of Mankind are so unequal to the Inquiry into? Why do they pretend to say, that this Mystery consists in the *Transubstantiation* of the Elements, when there is no such Word in the Scriptures?

CLV. And

CLV. And since it must be undoubtedly acknowledged, that the Belief in any Mystery can be no further required, as necessary to Salvation, than in proportion as that Mystery is revealed; if this be a Mystery, surely they ought to leave it as they found it, and not presume to explain that which they declare to be inexplicable.

CLVI. And is not this Method of Reasoning as strong, with regard to *Consubstantiation*, as *Transubstantiation*? It certainly is. And therefore when the *Protestants* argue against the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, the *Papists* never fail objecting the equal Incredibility of a *consustantial* Trinity.

CLVII. The Doctrine of the Trinity is as certainly revealed in the 19th Verse of the xxviiith Chapter of St. *Matthew*, as the Doctrine of the *Eucharist* is, in the 26th Verse of the xxvth Chapter of the same Evangelist: But the Scriptures are as silent about the *Consubstantiality* of the one, as about the *Transubstantiation* of the other. Whence then came the Revelation of these wonderful Doctrines? Why! both originally from the same Oracle; from the Papal Chair.

CLVIII. I think it therefore incumbent on those *Protestant* Bishops, who hold the Doctrine of a consubstantial Trinity, to inform us of the Reasons why the Infallibility of the Pope must be acknowledged in one of these Instances, and not in the other? And why, if their Eyes are sufficient to let them see, as well as the Pope, that the three Persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are one co-eternal, co-equal, and undivided Substance, when we undertake to argue against it, they should say to us, Ye are blind! Ye are blind! Or why, if we are blind, though they are not, this metaphysical Dispute should be made a Part of the public Service of the Church, which is an Assembly composed not only of quick-sighted Philosophers, but of the lowest of the People, who
are

are required to give their Assent to these equivocal, if not contradictory, Interpretations of Scripture, under the Penalty of eternal Damnation; and to declare, that *every one who doth not keep this Faith whole and undefiled, without doubt shall perish everlastingly*; and that *this is the Catholic Faith, which except a Man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.*

CLIX. I shall accordingly expect some of the Right Reverend Members of the *Protestant Church of Ireland*, either to account for this, or to exonerate their Consciences, by joining in an humble Remonstrance against it: And I do promise, if any of them shall deign to honour this *Treatise* with an Answer, that, if it pleaseth God to spare my Life, it shall speedily be followed, either by a Recantation, or a Reply.

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
HISTORIES
OF THE
OLD and NEW TESTAMENT.

PART I.

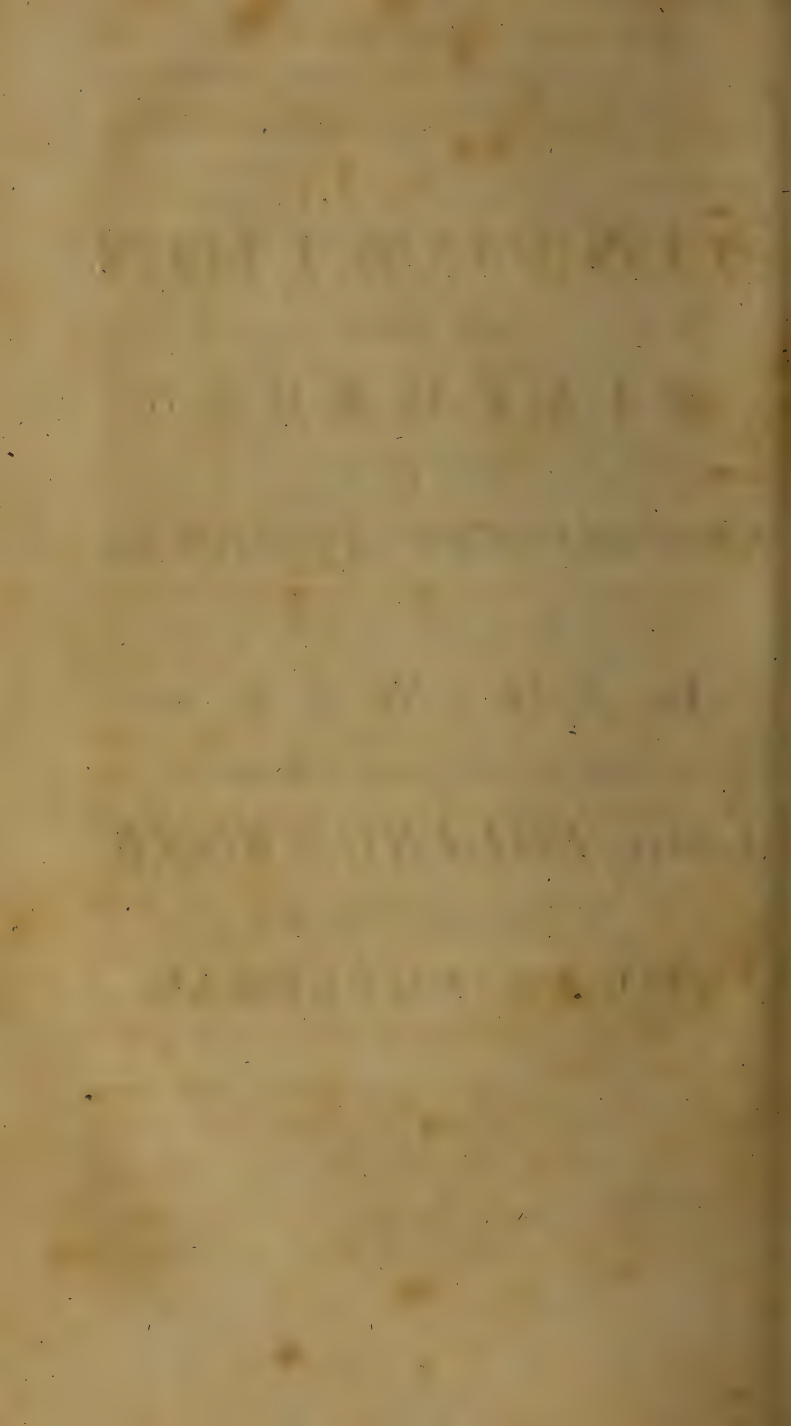
In ANSWER to

The OBJECTIONS of the late

LORD *BOLINGBROKE*.

In Two LETTERS to a

YOUNG NOBLEMAN.



A

VINDICATION

OF THE

HISTORIES

OF

The OLD and NEW TESTAMENT.

LETTER I.

MY DEAR LORD,

IN those Letters which I did myself the Honour of writing to your Lordship some few Years ago, wherein I committed my Thoughts to Paper, at your Request, with regard to some natural Curiosities of the fossil Kind, and was led from thence to a philosophical Vindication of the *Mosaical* Account of the Creation and Deluge; I took it for granted that the Books of *Moses* were a genuine History, undoubtedly written by *Moses* himself, and that the Authenticity of them had been sufficiently established, so as to need no further Proof.

But, my Lord, as a great Genius hath lately thought proper to call these Things into Question, and, under the Pretence of shewing, that they are not sufficient Materials on which to found a general System, either of History or Chronology, has thought proper to make such Objections to the Books both of the Old

and New Testament, as must, if true, greatly invalidate their Testimony; I choose to renew my Correspondence at this Time, that I may have an Opportunity of giving you my Opinion of this Performance. And lest any Thing which Lord *Bolingbroke* hath advanced, of whose Abilities I know your Lordship hath an high Opinion, should make too strong an Impression on your Mind, with regard to those sacred Writings; I shall regularly consider those Objections, which his Lordship hath industriously collected, and as artfully displayed under the Disguise of a Friend, without seeming to have any premeditated Design to hurt revealed Religion; and then I shall endeavour to support and vindicate the Authority of the History of the Bible in the very Method, and on the very Plan which he himself hath pointed out.

Not, my Lord, as I before observed, that the noble Viscount has openly attacked Revelation as a professed *Theist*, but raises these Scruples only, as he expresseth it, *out of Zeal for Christianity* [1]: and yet, in the self-same Paragraph, declares it as his positive Opinion, *that Christianity has been on the Decay ever since the Resurrection of Letters* [2]. Can any thing in Nature be more insidious? Does your Lordship think, that Lord *Bolingbroke* could believe that Doctrine to be true, which, he declares, will not, in his Opinion, stand the Test of a free and open Enquiry; which flourisheth only under the Darkness of Ignorance, and vanisheth away like Morning Dew on the Approach of the Sunshine of Knowledge? Those Things are *Evil*, my Lord, which *love Darkness rather than Light*: The true brilliant Diamond never gives forth its Lustre to so much Advantage as in the brightest Sunshine: And such, I trust in God, will Christianity shew itself to be on the strictest Enquiry; and that it

[1] Letters on the Study and Use of History, Vol. I. Let. V. p. 182.

[2] P. 185.

will still come out the brighter, the more it is scrutinized by the fiery Trial of a just and severe Criticism.

But, my Lord, why did not Lord *Bolingbroke* speak openly and fairly? Why does he choose to attack Christianity rather under the Character of a false Friend, than of an open Enemy? The Apology which he makes, or at least which he seems desirous should be understood as such, for this Proceeding, is inserted in the second Page of the first Letter, where he says, "I think that a due Deference is to be paid
" to received Opinions, and that a due Compliance
" with received Customs is to be held; although
" both the one and the other should be, what they
" often are, absurd or ridiculous. But this Servitude
" is outward only, and abridges in no sort the Liberty
" of private Judgment. The Obligations of submitting to it even outwardly, extend no further,
" than to those Opinions and Customs which cannot
" be opposed; or from which we cannot deviate
" without doing Hurt, or giving Offence, to Society.
" In all these Cases, our Speculations ought to be
" free: in all other Cases our Practice ought to be
" so."

And now I appeal to your Lordship, whether you can think in your Conscience, that the noble Viscount had that tender Regard for the Ease of the Ministry, the Tranquillity of the Bishops Bench, and the Peace of Society, as to choose, upon that Account, to propose his Objections against the Bible as a disguised Christian, rather than a professed Deist? Or whether he had not too much Sense to imagine, that the same Effect of the Disturbance of Society would not equally follow from both? Only with this Difference, that the Designs of a false Friend are not so easily discovered as those of an open Enemy; and the Wounds that are given, are not only deeper, but surer.

And indeed the Force of his whole Performance lies in the Deceitfulness of it, in artfully substituting one

Thing for another ; like a Juggler at Cards, who shews you one Card, while he artfully whips another into the Place of it. Thus, in the very Case before us, when Lord *Bolingbroke* says, that *Christianity has been upon the Decay ever since the Resurrection of Letters*, here it is manifest, if we look into his Reasoning, that he has palmed *Christianity* upon his Readers instead of *Popery* ; for his Arguments all run against *Popery* ; but, before he shews his Hand, he whips in *Christianity* in lieu of it. That you may not think I also intend to deceive, take his own Words. “ Observe
 “ then, my Lord, says he, that the Demolition of the
 “ *papal Throne* was not attempted with Success until
 “ the Beginning of the sixteenth Century. — A
 “ Multitude of Circumstances, which you will easily
 “ trace in the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries, to
 “ go no further back, concurred to bring about this
 “ great Event. — Among these Circumstances, there
 “ is one less complicated and more obvious than others,
 “ which was of principal and universal Influence. The Art of Printing had been invented about forty or fifty Years before the Period we fix :
 “ From that Time the Resurrection of Letters hastened on a-pace ; and at this Period they had made
 “ great Progress, and were cultivated with great Application. — As soon as the Means of acquiring
 “ and spreading Information grew common, it is no
 “ Wonder that a System was unravelled, which could
 “ not have been woven with Success in any Ages,
 “ but those of gross Ignorance and credulous Superstition.” [3]

And yet this is the only Argument he produceth to prove, that *Christianity* has been on the Decay ever since the Resurrection of Letters. Whereas it is really and truly a Proof of the direct contrary. For as it does prove that *Popery* hath been upon the Decay

ever since the Resurrection of Letters; so will the same Method of arguing serve to prove, that the Destruction of *Poper*y has contributed to the Revival of *true Christianity*, which must and will be enlivened along with the Resurrection of Letters.

But, my Lord, this is not the only Place where he has proceeded in this deceitful Method of Reasoning, as will appear in the Sequel of this Letter. And I am sorry that I must say, although I hope to convince your Lordship of the Truth of it, that his whole Argumentation against the Authenticity of the Scripture History in the Old and New Testament, is one continued Piece of fallacious Sophistry. As for Instance: His Lordship takes a great deal of learned Pains to shew the Imperfection of ancient prophane History, as well as he does of ancient sacred History; which, at the same Time that it serves to make a great Shew of Impartiality, has likewise this further Use, that, by overturning the Credibility of ancient prophane History, he sets aside the Force of that Evidence, which the Vindicators of revealed Religion have produced in Support of the sacred Writings, from the concurrent Testimony of the ancient prophane Historians; and yet, through his whole Treatise, he recommends the Enquiry into ancient History, in order “to establish those historical Facts in sacred History, which are the Foundation of the whole System, on clear and unquestionable historical Authority,” [4] which is manifestly acting the Part of a faithless *Dalilah*, in first depriving us of our Strength, and then calling out in the Voice of a Friend, *The Philistines be upon thee, Sampson!*

And the more effectually to do this, his Lordship sets out with ridiculing *Scaliger*, *Bochart*, *Petavius*, and *Usher*, who have attempted to make this Enquiry into ancient prophane History; and declares “a thorough

“Contempt for the whole Business of these learned
 “Lives [5];” and pray observe the Reason; be-
 cause, says he, “The same Materials are common to
 “them all; but these Materials are few, and there
 “is a moral Impossibility that they should ever have
 “more [6].”

And what then? Surely the fewer these Materials are, the more Reason there is for considering them in all the various Lights that are possible. He recommends an Enquiry into ancient History, and then declares his Contempt for those that do so; and why? Because the Materials are few. That is, because there were not as many Books written before the Invention of Letters, as there have been since the Art of Printing has been discovered. His Lordship observes [7], that “the Divines object in their Dis-
 “putes with Atheists, and they object very justly,
 “says he, that these Men require improper Proofs.” And may not they make the same Objection at present against his Lordship as a Theist? when he condemns these Authors for not producing more Materials than, according to his own Assertion, it is possible for them to produce.

But how does he know that there is a moral Impossibility they should ever have more? Was it not owing to *Usher*, that we now have the Copy of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, which is a living Evidence, that the five Books of *Moses* have not been corrupted in any material Point since the Defection of *Samaria*, and the violent Animosities that arose on that Account between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*? But his Lordship says further, that these Authors have “supposed,
 “have guessed, have disjointed Passages of different
 “Authors, and broken Traditions of uncertain Ori-
 “ginals, &c.” [8] That *Scaliger*, *Bochart*, and *Mar-
 sham*, have sometimes indulged their Imagination too

[5] P. 6.

[6] Ibid.

[7] P. 175.

[8] P. 6.

much, I will readily allow ; but I absolutely deny the Charge against *Petavius* and *Usher*. And as there are no Instances produced, he has left me no other Means of refuting him.

His Lordship then says, *Julius Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *George the Monk*, opened the principal Sources of all this Science ; but they corrupted the Waters. In Proof of which, he says, “ The Dynasties of *Manetho*, for Instance, are broken to pieces by *Eusebius*, “ and such Fragments of them as suited his Design, “ are stuck into his Works. We have, we know, no “ more of them [9].” Which Assertion, although false in itself, *for we know that we have more of them*, than what are in *Eusebius*; yet seems to carry with it this insidious Insinuation, as if *Eusebius*, after he had picked out what made most for his Purpose, had then destroyed the Remainder, to prevent their rising in Judgment against him ; whereas I doubt very much, whether ever *Eusebius* had seen the Works of *Manetho*; as Books were then by no Means so easy to be come at, as they have been since the Invention of the Art of Printing. For that Work of *Eusebius*, which is here alluded to, is his *Chronicon*, in which Work he endeavours to synchronize the sacred and prophane History, and to reduce them into one regular Series of Chronology ; and the Books which he mentions as having consulted upon this Head are, *Hyginus*, *Clemens Africanus*, *Tatianus*, *Josephus*, and *Iustus* ; but does not say one Word about *Manetho*. *Julius Africanus* had indeed made a Kind of Abstract out of *Manetho*, in which *we know* he did not exactly copy after *Manetho*, in his List of the *Egyptian* Princes, because by comparing him with some other Extracts made out of *Manetho*, which are preserved in *Josephus*, *we know* he has very justly omitted the Names of the Queens, that are mentioned by *Manetho*, it being now univer-

fully acknowledged among the learned, that *Egypt* was then an elective Kingdom, and that the *Egyptians* always chose their Princes, either out of their Priesthood, or out of the Army. So that if Lord *Bolingbroke* had read *Josephus*, whom he nevertheless quotes very frequently, he would have found that *we know more of Manetho* than what is in *Eusebius*. And what inclines me to think, that *Eusebius* had not seen the Works of *Manetho*, or at least had them not in his Possession, is, that speaking in his *Præparatio Evangelica* of the Affairs of *Egypt*, he barely mentions *Manetho*, as an Author who had written largely on that Subject, but makes his Quotations, and those no small ones, out of *Diodorus Siculus*.

Then his Lordship proceeds, and says, “The *Codex Alexandrinus* we owe to George the Monk. We have no other Authority for it: And one cannot see without Amazement, such a Man as Sir *John Marsham* undervaluing this Authority in one Page, and building his System upon it in the next [1].” When Men of Learning speak of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, they are generally supposed to mean the famous *Alexandrian* MS. Copy of the New Testament: But that is a Book that was not known to George the Monk, who flourished about 100 Years ago, in an Age when that Book, and the Value of it, were unknown. George the Monk, otherwise much better known by the Name of *Syncellus*, does indeed mention an ancient *Chronicle*, which, notwithstanding its boasted Antiquity, must have been written, as Sir *John Marsham* justly remarks, since the third Year of the hundred and seventh Olympiad, because it mentions *Nectanebo*, whose Flight was about fifteen Years before the Expedition of *Alexander*. Which Book, *Syncellus* supposes, led the subsequent Authors, and particularly *Manetho*, into all his Errors about the Antiqui-

[1] Euseb. Præp. l. ii. c. 1.

ty of the *Egyptian* Dynasties [2]. And where is the great Harm, if Sir *John Marsham* sometimes receives and sometimes rejects the Authority of this *ancient Chronicle*, as he finds it agree or disagree with other Authorities, which he imagines to have either better or worse Foundation for what they assert? Does not his Lordship take this Liberty even with the holy Scriptures, and reject the historical Part, while he is pleased to honour the Doctrines of original Sin, the Trinity, and the coming of the *Messiah*, with seeming Tokens of his Approbation? But why his Lordship mentions this Book, which *Syncellus* only entitles *Vetus Chronicon*, under the Denomination of *Codex Alexandrinus*, I choose to refer to the Conjectures of the Reader, rather than to offer any Reflections of my own.

But the noble Viscount, in his next Letter, goes on, and tells the Story of *Abgarus*, [3] and of the Beasts, which, when turned loose, ran each of them immediately to that Part of the *Circus*, where a Parcel of Earth taken from their native Soil had been laid; and then adds, “This Tale might pass on *Josephus*; for “in him, I believe, I read it.” He tells the same Story in another Place, with the additional Fable of the Letters which passed between *Abgarus* and *Jesus Christ* [4]. Which I only mention now to set your Lordship right with regard to the Author’s Name in whom these Stories are told, and that is *Eusebius*, and not *Josephus*. And likewise to desire you would remark, that the greatest Authors may be guilty of small Mistakes, without impeaching their Veracity, or their Judgment in other Particulars; and to acknowledge that I think *Eusebius* was a little too credulous, in some other Instances as well as these; but that he must nevertheless be esteemed as a Person of great Veracity, Learning, and Judgment in the general. *Matthew Paris* is an Historian of undoubted Au-

[2] Sync. p. 51. Ed. Par. [3] Vol. I. p. 31. [4] Ibid. p. 240.
thority

thority in most Cases, and yet he was much more credulous than *Eusebius* in many Particulars. That there were pious Frauds committed in, and before the Days of *Eusebius*, is not to be denied; but it is the Business of *Criticism*, as his Lordship justly expresseth it, “to separate the Ore from the Dross [5].” For, says his Lordship again, “We strike out Truth by the Confrontation of different Accounts; as we strike out Sparks of Fire by the Collision of Flints and Steel.” [6] Which has been tolerably well performed since the Revival of Letters, and is every Day improving since the Reformation. Insomuch that our learned Author is forced to acknowledge, that “the Moderns have invented new Methods of Defence, and have abandoned some Posts that were not tenable [7].”

In his third Letter, [8] Lord *Bolingbroke*, speaking of the Uncertainty of antient History, says, “*Berosus*, for Instance, and *Manetho*, one a *Babylonian*, and the other an *Egyptian* Priest, had published the Antiquities of their Countries in the Time of the *Ptolemies*. *Berosus* pretended to give the History of four hundred eighty Years. *Pliny*, if I remember right, for I say this on Memory, speaks to this Effect, in the sixth Book of his *Natural History*; and if it was so, these Years were probably Years of *Nabonassar*.” And here I cannot but observe, that this noble Author quotes often upon Memory, in order, I suppose, to give these Letters the Air of a slight and cursory Performance; although it is manifest from Lord *Bolingbroke*’s last Will, that the four first of these Letters were *privately printed* during his Life-time, *though not published*, and, if I am rightly informed, were distributed among some of his learned Friends for their critical Revival, who might have set him right if they pleased, where he made any Mistakes. But however, though the Mistake here made

[5] P. 133.

[6] P. 136.

[7] P. 182.

[8] P. 81.

is no great one, I think it proper to inform your Lordship, and the Reader of these Letters, that it is in the seventh Book of *Pliny's Natural History*, that *Berosus* is mentioned by him in two Places [9]. In the first of which he takes Notice of the great Honours that were paid to *Berosus* by the *Athenians*, to whom, though a Foreigner, they erected a Statue in the public Gymnasium, with a golden Tongue, on account of his Skill in Astrology. And, in the other, arguing for the great Antiquity of the Art of literary Writing, he says, that *Berosus* mentions the *Babylonians* as being in Possession of Astronomical Observations for upwards of 480 Years before his Time*; which is very different from what his Lordship asserts, that “*Berosus* pretended to give the History of four hundred eighty Years.” Whereas *Berosus* wrote a chronological History of *Chaldaea*, and the adjacent Countries, from the Flood of *Noah* to the Conquest of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, comprehending a Period at least upwards of 1700 Years. Of which I shall have Occasion to speak more fully in the Sequel of this Work. But supposing that *Berosus* had given, or pretended to give an History of four hundred eighty Years: What is the Meaning of the following Remark? And if it was so, these Years were probably Years of *Nabonassar*. Where is the Sense of this? Or what is it to the Purpose? One would be apt to imagine, in order to make Sense of it, that the Years of *Nabonassar* were different

[9] *Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vii. c. 37, 56.*

[* This, by the way, would very ill prove the great Antiquity of literary Writing; since 480 Years before the Time of *Berosus*, who lived under *Alexander the Great*, would carry it not so high as *Homer* or *Hesiod*; whereas *Pliny's* Argument must necessarily carry it higher than *Phoroneus*, the first King of *Greece*. It is plain then M, denoting a Millenary, has been omitted, and it should be read, “*Epigenes* relates that the *Babylonians*, i. e. the *Assyrians*, had Astronomical Observations for DCCXX. M. Years; and *Berosus* and *Critodemus*, who say the least, for CCCCLXXX. M. Years.” See *Hardouin, in Plin. and Perizon Orig. Babylonicæ*, p. 10-13.]

from, and were either longer or shorter than common Years. Whereas that is not the Fact. *Nabonassar* was a famous King of *Babylon*, from the Commencement of whose Reign the *Babylonians* began the Date of that remarkable Astronomical *Æra*, which, from him, was called the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*, and commenced about seven Years after the Building of *Rome*, 235 after the Death of *Solomon*, and about 480 Years before the Time of *Berosus*. So that although the *Æra* of *Nabonassar* differed from other *Æras*, yet the Years of *Nabonassar* did not differ from other Years. Upon all which I shall only remark, that it is a very difficult thing for those Persons, who have more of the Shadow than the Substance of Learning, and yet are willing to make an ostentatious Parade with it, to keep themselves from being detected, and rendering themselves the Objects of Ridicule to the more knowing Part of their Readers.

But, says the noble Viscount, “ had they, (meaning *Berosus* and *Manetho*) “ given particular and historical Accounts, conformable to the Scriptures of “ the *Jews*; *Josephus*, *Julius Africanus*, and *Eusebius*, “ would have made quite other Abstracts from their “ Writings, and would have altered and contradicted “ them less [1].” *Julius Africanus* was indeed Fool enough to be at the Trouble of making Abstracts out of *Manetho*; and both *Josephus*, and *Eusebius*, and Sir *John Marsham* have paid too much Regard to some of his Assertions; but it would have been a Shame for them, if they had not contradicted him in others: The *Egyptians* themselves being so little content with that Work of his, that it was but a few Years afterwards, when *Ptolemy Euergetes* thought it proper to employ *Eratosthenes* to undertake a new History of *Egypt*, in order to supply the Defects and Imperfections of *Manetho*. But with regard to *Berosus*, I can assure your

Lordship, that *Josephus* is so far from contradicting him, that he appeals to his Work, in Support of the History of the Bible: And *Eusebius* is so far from either contracting or contradicting him, that he has literally and faithfully copied after him in his List of the *Assyrian* Kings, and has given them in the same Order of Succession, and has allowed the same exact Period of Time for the Duration of each Reign. And I now leave it to your Lordship, to make your own Reflections, on the Treatment given these great Historians.

The noble Viscount comes then to give us his Sentiments upon sacred History, in which he draws a burlesque Picture enough of the miraculous Stories told by some *Hellenistical Jews*, in Favour of the Septuagint Version of the Bible. And then concludes: “ Thus you see, my Lord, that when we consider
“ these Books, barely as Histories, delivered to us
“ on the Faith of a superstitious People, among
“ whom the Custom and Art of pious Lying prevailed remarkably, we may be allowed to doubt,
“ whether greater Credit is to be given to what they
“ tell us concerning the Original, compiled in their
“ own Country, and as it were out of the Sight of
“ the rest of the World.”

But what is all this to the Purpose? What does it signify what silly Stories are told, either by the *Hellenistical* or *Hebrew Jews*, in Favour either of the Original, or the Copy? And what does it signify in reality, whether the Translation was made by one Man, or by five, or by seventy? the Books are both of them in being, let them speak for themselves. Compare them together; and see whether they agree in the main Points. If they do, is it not an undoubted Proof of the Original being extant, and in great Credit so long ago as the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, when this Translation of it was first made? But why should any silly Stories, told in Favour of a Translation, prejudice

us against the Original? Because, says the noble Viscount, “we may be allowed to *doubt*, whether greater Credit is to be given to what they tell us concerning the Original.” And so we ought; it is *Doubt* alone that leads to *Truth*. And if we had no better Proof in Favour of what they tell us concerning the Original, than for those silly Stories that are told of the Copy, I would join with the noble Viscount in rejecting the one as well as the other. But before I have finished this Paper, I hope to convince your Lordship, that our Belief in the Original is founded on such rational and undeniable Evidence, as cannot fairly be rejected.

Not that I shall quote *Alexander Polyhistor*, though of undoubted Authority, because his Lordship makes a slight Objection against him: “For, says he, even *Alexander Polyhistor* is called in, he is quoted by *Josephus*, and praised by *Eusebius*.” [His Lordship might have said, that *Eusebius* quotes him as well as *Josephus*; for he makes much larger Quotations out of him than *Josephus* does,] “as a Man of Parts, and great Variety of Learning. His Testimony about the Deluge, and Tower of *Babel*, is produced by *St. Cyril*, in his first Book against *Julian*: And *Justin* the Apologist and Martyr, in his Exhortation to the *Greeks*, makes use of the same Authority, among those that mention *Moses* as a Leader and Prince of the *Jews*. Though this *Polyhistor*, if I remember right what I think I have met with in *Suidas*, spoke only of a Woman he called *Moso* [2].” It is certain, that *Suidas*, under the Word *Μωσῶ*, does say, according to the *Latin* Translation quoted by his Lordship, *Mulier Hebræa, cujus est scriptum ipsa Lex apud Hebræos, ut ait Alexander Milesius Polyhistor*. And under the Title *Ἀλέξανδρος*, where he is speaking of the Works of *Polyhistor*, he says, *In his dicit fuisse mu-*

lierem Hebræam nomine Mosè, cujus scriptum sit Lex illa quæ est apud Hebræos. But then I am sure that Lord *Bolingbroke* did not believe *Suidas*; as the Thing is absurd to a Degree of Ridicule; and in which Light I am confident the noble Viscount even quoted it in this Place; as he could not but have read the just Character which is given of *Suidas* by his Friend Mr. *Pope*, in his Notes on the *Dunciad*.

The Works of *Polyhistor* are lost, but in those Quotations which remain out of him, there is no such thing to be found as *Suidas* mentions; but, on the contrary, he speaks with Respect of *Moses*, as being a wise Man, and the Legislator of the *Jews*. He was an Author of great Repute; and is not only spoken of as such by *Eusebius*, and *Josephus*, and the other Authors mentioned by his Lordship, but also by *Pliny* in his *Natural History*; and indeed I should have thought it beneath the Genius of Lord *Bolingbroke* to retail so poor a Joke as that of *Suidas*, in making only an old Woman of *Moses*.

But, says the noble Viscount, “ In short, my Lord, “ the *Jewish* History never obtained any Credit in the “ World, till *Christianity* was established [3].” What, not among the *Jews*? Did not they believe it? And, if they did, was not that all that was then intended by it? His Lordship seems to be under a great Mistake, when he imagines the Books of the Old Testament were designed to instruct Men in Arts or Sciences, or in the general Knowledge of Geography, History, or Chronology; for they were designed primarily and chiefly for the Use of the *Jews*, to point out to them their *Messiah*, to establish a Set of Laws for their particular State, to inform them in the Knowledge of God, and his Laws, and to excite them to Obedience, by convincing them, that he was the Creator of this World, that he was their daily Preserver, and that

[3] Let. iii. p. 91.

they were under his immediate Inspection, both with Regard to Rewards and Punishments. And therefore this History, which concerned itself about Religion more than Politics, passed unregarded by Strangers, because it was not written like other Histories, where the Success of all human Affairs is attributed to, and by which it can only be accounted for in all prophane History, the Wisdom, the Courage, or the Conduct of Ministers, of Generals, or of Soldiers, and *vice versa*. Whereas, in this History, all Events are attributed to the immediate Direction of God, and the Success or Reverse of all the Actions of the *Israelites* is manifestly shewed to depend upon him; and the secret Springs of all their good, as well as bad, Fortune are revealed unto them, and are demonstrably shewed to arise, not from their worldly Wisdom, or worldly Folly; not from their own Power or Weakness; not from their Courage or Cowardice; but from God, whose Favour or whose Frowns depended on their Obedience or Disobedience to his Laws; which is the great Moral that is inculcated through the whole Tenor of the Old Testament. And whereas his Lordship truly observes, that, in prophane History, “an ingenious Writer may very innocently
 “account for Events, after they have happened, by a
 “System of Causes and Conduct that did not really
 “produce them [4]:” In this History it is quite otherwise, since whoever carefully consults it, will from thence learn, *to vindicate the Ways of God with Man*, not according to Appearances only, but according to Truth.

But, says our Author, “I apprehend that the Zeal
 “of both (*Jews and Christians*) has done much Hurt,
 “by endeavouring to extend their Authority much
 “further than is necessary, for the Support perhaps
 “of *Judaism*, but to be sure of *Christianity* [5].” And

[4] Let. v. p. 167.

[5] Let. iii. p. 92.

then he proceeds to explain himself, and endeavours to shew, that this Extension of their Authority consists in attributing a divine *Inspiration* to the Authors of these Books. Which he seems, in some Places, willing to confine to such Parts of Scripture as concern the *Law*, the *Doctrine*, or the *Prophecies*. And consents to allow, for Example, that the Doctrine of *Original Sin*, the *Trinity*, and the *Coming of the Messiah*, may be established by it, together with *the Infallibility of Scripture Authority, as far as Religion is concerned* [6]. But he then raises such Objections against this Distinction, by hinting, that by this Means “the greatest Part of their Chronology, and the far greatest Part of their History would be excluded [7];” and that “this Notion of Inspiration, which came occasionally, and that illuminated the Minds, and guided the Hands, of the sacred Penmen while they were writing one Page, and restrained their Influence, while the same Authors were writing another, may be cavilled against [8];” that he plainly shews, to a considerate Reader, he does by no Means design or desire to “*adhere to these Distinctions* [9];” but that this Distinction is only ironically produced, or, in plain *English*, that the aforementioned Concession, in Favour of *Original Sin*, &c. is only a Piece of *Double-dealing*.

I shall therefore endeavour to set before you the true Nature and Extent of Inspiration, as far as occurs to me; however, I must premise, that the Doctrine of Inspiration, together with the true Limits of it, is attended with great Difficulties, and is, in reality, a Dispute between Divines themselves who believe revealed Religion, rather than a Dispute between Believers and Dis-believers of Revelation; because if the Doctrine and History contained in the Scripture be true, we are in Duty and Conscience obliged to

[6] P. 98.

[7] P. 99.

[8] P. 93.

[9] P. 96.

believe it, although the Authors were not inspired. I shall therefore venture to give my own private Opinion on this Head, which is this.

St. Paul, in his Epistle to Timothy, says, *All Scripture is given by Inspiration of GOD, and is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness; that the Man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good Works* [1]. Whence it plainly appears, that the main End and Use of Inspiration is not to gratify our Curiosity, or for the Information and Improvement of our Minds in Arts and Sciences, or in History and Chronology, but for our Instruction in Righteousness, that the Man of GOD, that is, the Servant of GOD, or the Man who is willing to dedicate himself to the Service of GOD, may be thoroughly furnished with all Manner of Instruction, in Righteousness, necessary to excite him to the Performance of good Works. And therefore if *the Infallibility of Scripture Authority, as far as Religion is concerned, be but secured*, as the noble Viscount expresseth it, I am humbly of Opinion, that That is sufficient. But then how can this be secured, while the same infallible Pen, which is dictating Truth in one Page, is declaring Falsehoods in the next? And how shall we distinguish the one from the other? This therefore cannot be allowed. It must either be all true, or all false.

But it is objected, and with too much Reason, that
 “ these Scriptures are come down to us broken and
 “ confused, full of Additions, and Interpolations, and
 “ Transpositions, made we neither know when, nor
 “ by whom; and such, in short, as never appeared
 “ on the Face of any other Book, on which Men have
 “ agreed to rely [2].” The Reason of which is, because there never was any other Book in the World, notwithstanding all these Objections, on which Men

[1] 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

[2] Let. iii. p. 95.

had so much Reason to *rely*. For though there are manifestly some small Additions, Interpolations, and Transpositions in the sacred Writings, of no great Consequence, which have been detected, and are daily detecting, as Learning encreases in the World; yet these are by no Means of such Purport, as to impeach the Veracity of the whole, or to prevent these Scriptures from taking Effect: with regard to the general Design of instructing the Man of God in Righteousness, for which they were originally intended. And indeed was it not “*for the peculiar Care of Providence,*” “*in preserving them through all the Changes and Chances*” “*to which these Books were exposed* [3];” it would have been impossible for them to have come so entire to our Hands as they are at present, notwithstanding all their Imperfections: For, was it not for the particular Directions given by *Moses*, of having his Writings placed in the Ark, and kept in the Sanctuary, it is morally impossible they could have been preserved at all; if we do but consider the early Age of the World, in which these Books were written; that it was before the Invention either of Paper or Parchment: when the Art of literary Writing was in its Infancy; and the Scribes were obliged to make Use of the Leaves or Barks of Plants or Trees, which could not be so completely tacked together, but that the Ligatures would easily fail. And indeed, in such a Multitude of detached Pieces, as these Books must have been composed of, and which, of Consequence, were very liable to have been put in Disorder, it is impossible, had they not been very carefully preserved at first, until several Copies had been taken of them on Materials of more lasting Duration, that, at the recovering them by *Esdra*s, at the Restauration of the *Jewish* Temple, they should be *found*, or, to please the noble Viscount, shall I say, *renewed* [4], in

[3] P. 97.

[4] P. 100, 101.

so complete a Manner, as will be proved in the Sequel of these Letters, that they really were. And probably it was on this Account, that is, to supply the Inconveniencies which might happen by the Dislocation or Transposition of any of the smaller Parts, that there are so many Repetitions of the same Kind of Advice in the several Books of *Moses*, as the Prophet *Isaiab* expresseth it, *Precept upon Precept, Precept upon Precept, Line upon Line, Line upon Line, here a little, and there a little* [5]. And for the same Reason it also probably was, that God was pleased to send forth so many Prophets under the *Jewish* Dispensation, and to call forth several Evangelists under the *Christian*, that if, by the Mistake of Transcribers, or any other Accident, an Error should creep into one Part, it might be rectified by comparing it with others.

Not that I think all the Books which are in the Canon of the *Jewish* and *Christian* Scriptures, or all the Passages in the same Book, are to be put upon a Level. Let me explain myself. I do not mean that they are not all true; but that all the Truths are not of equal Consequence. I have in those Letters, which I formerly wrote to you on the *Mosaical* History of the Creation and Deluge, given you my Opinion of those Passages which relate to Arts and Sciences, and to which I shall refer the Reader of this Letter, as I intend to revise those Letters, as soon as I have finished this, and shall give them to the Public, as a proper Sequel to what I propose writing to your Lordship at present. But as Lord *Bolingbroke* is pleased to say, when speaking of the Scriptures of the Old Testament in general, “that these Histories are nothing more than
“ Compilations of old Traditions, and Abridgments
“ of old Records made in later Times, as they appear to every one who reads them without Prepossession, and with Attention [6].” This, I own, may be true, with regard to some of them; but I must beg leave to contradict his Lordship in the most

[7] *Isai.* xxviii. 10.

[8] P. 96.

positive Manner, with regard to others; and do appeal to the unprejudiced and attentive Reader, whether the Books of *Moses* and the Prophets are not to be excepted out of this Assertion. For as to what *Moses* relates in the Books of *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, and *Deuteronomy*, he was himself the chief Actor, and delivers you the History of *his own Times*. And as to the Book of *Genesis*, I appeal to all Mankind, whether it is written in the Style of a Compiler of old Records, and whether it is not written in the Style and Manner of a Person well informed in the Truth of what he wrote, and with the Firmness of one, who either saw by Vision, or was informed by some other Kind of Inspiration, of the very Matters of Fact which he there certifies?

As to the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, how far they may appear to be Collections of old Records, I cannot say. It is enough for us, that they were esteemed as authentic and sacred Records, by the most learned and holy Persons, who lived nearest to those Times in which they were written: And, as such, we have inserted them, and some others, into our Canon. But, if these were lost, the *Jewish* and the *Christian* Religion would still remain safe against all the Attacks of Infidelity; although they add, by their Conformity, great Strength to the Evidence; and especially those that are appealed to in the Scripture of the New Testament.

And here I must beg leave to add, that when we speak of inspired Writers and inspired Writings, we do not mean that every Word, or every Thought, is directly and immediately inspired by God. When *Moses* wrote the History of the *Exodus*, he wrote what he saw, and what he knew of it, as any other Man would have done. When he was informed by God, either in Vision or by Inspiration, of any thing which he could not otherwise know, he likewise wrote this, or spoke it in his own Words, unless where the

Words, as in a few Cases, were dictated unto him; and it is enough for us, that he has told us what he knew either of his own Knowledge, or by Inspiration, with Truth and Fidelity. And this also was the Case with the rest of the Prophets, whose Minds Almighty God might please to illuminate, either by shewing them Visions, or by impressing and communicating Ideas immediately to their Thoughts, and yet leave the inspired Person to the Exercise of his own natural Faculties in relating this Vision, or discovering those Thoughts to others. So that, when the Person thus inspired came to describe the Vision, or explain his Thoughts, he would unfold his Mind in his own Language, in the same Words and Images, that he would naturally use, either in common Conversation, or in any literary Composition. And hence it comes pass, that those Scriptures, which are said to be inspired by God, are written in such a great Variety of Styles, according to the different natural, or improved Abilities of the Person inspired. Thus, for Example, the Language in which the Prophet *Isaiah* writes, who was of royal Extraction, and was bred at a Court, is lofty and high, his Metaphors strong, and his Images sublime: Whereas, on the other Hand, the Language of the Prophet *Amos*, who was by Profession a Shepherd, and bred in the Country, is humble and low, his Sentiments easy, and his Images frequently pastoral; and therefore the Style of the Scriptures must be liable to all the Mistakes and Incorrectnesses of that Kind, with which other human Compositions abound.

Nor is it to be supposed, that there was any need for the Spirit of God to inspire the sacred Writers with the Knowledge of those things which their own Eyes, or their own Ears, or their own Judgment could inform them in, without such Inspiration. It is sufficient, that, in such Cases, the sacred Writers should say nothing but the Truth, as it appeared unto them.

As

As in the Case of the extraordinary Continuance of the Light of the Sun, which *Joshua* mentions as the Effect of the Sun's *standing still* [9]; because it appeared unto him so to do; which, although not *physically* true, was undoubtedly a *moral* Truth. And hence it is, that St. *Paul* frequently makes a Distinction between those Precepts which he had received by Inspiration, and those that arose from the Result of his own Prudence. For, in writing to the *Corinthians*, with regard to some Part of their Conduct in the married State, he says, *This I speak by Permission, and not by Commandment* [1]; that is, I speak it by Permission as my own private Advice, but not by Inspiration from the Lord. But where a Matter of Consequence arose, and the Question was about Separation; whether a believing Wife or Husband should separate from an unbelieving Wife or Husband, having felt the divine Inspiration inwardly dictating to him, what his own Judgment was unable to determine, he then speaks positively, as by Inspiration from God, and says, *Unto the married I command; yet not I, but the Lord. Let not the Wife depart from the Husband, and let not the Husband put away his Wife* [2]. Something of the same Nature happened to *Moses*, in the Case of the Man that was found gathering Sticks on the *Sabbath* Day, and in the Case of the Daughters of *Zelophehad*; which Cases *Moses* not being able to determine by his own private Judgment, went to consult the Lord, and had his Doubts accordingly resolved. So that when any Person, under the Influence of the Spirit of God, declares any thing as a Truth, we may safely acknowledge it as such, although he was not particularly inspired with it; because, we may depend upon it, that the Spirit of God,

[9] *Josh.* x. 13. [1] *1 Cor.* vii. 6. [2] *1 Cor.* vii. 10, 11. See also *1 Cor.* vii. 12. *2 Cor.* viii. 8. *1 Thess.* i. 15. *2 Cor.* xi. 17. and *1 Cor.* xiv. 13.

were it otherwise, would, in that Case, over-rule him, and correct his Judgment, and make him cry out with *St. Paul, Yet not I, but the Lord.*

But, says the noble Viscount, “ The principal and
“ decisive Reason for separating in such Manner the
“ legal, doctrinal, and prophetical Parts, from the
“ historical, is the Necessity of having some Rule to
“ go by. — It is strange, but it is true ; not only
“ the *Jews* differ from the *Christians*, but *Jews* and
“ *Christians* both differ among themselves concerning
“ almost every Point that is necessary to be certainly
“ known, and agreed upon. — Who were the Au-
“ thors of these Scriptures, when they were publish-
“ ed, how they were composed and preserved, or re-
“ newed, &c. [3]” With regard to the Necessity of
having some Rule to go by, if our Author means
some infallible Rule or Guide to go by, such as the
Roman Catholics have, from the same Method of ar-
guing, erected the Pope into ; so as to fix and neces-
sitate our Assent, and to prevent Mankind by its in-
fallible Influence, from erring : I cannot help being
of a very different Opinion from him : But if he
means such a Rule as, with an honest Heart and due
Application, will be sufficient to instruct the Man of
God in Righteousness, and conduct him to Happiness,
then indeed, “ *If we suppose that God acts towards*
“ *Men according to the moral Fitness of Things* [4],”
there is a Necessity for such a Rule to go by. Which
Necessity God hath, in his Goodness, complied with,
in giving his *written Word*, having also given to
every Man such a Portion of Reason, as, if duly ap-
plied, will undoubtedly conduct him to a suitable Por-
tion of Happiness ; since it is undeniably true, that eve-
ry Man’s Endeavours will be *accepted according to that*
a Man hath, and not according to that he hath not [5].

[3] Let. iii. p. 100, 101.

[4] P. 95.

[5] 2 Cor. viii. 12.

For, my dear Lord, I would have you always bear in Mind, that Mankind are placed here in this Life, neither as necessary Agents that cannot err, nor yet, like the *Leviathan*, barely to take his Pastime in the deep; but that we are placed here in a State of Probation and Trial, to see *whether we love the Lord, or have Pleasure in Unrighteousness*, and that, according to our Behaviour under this Trial, we shall, in the final State of our Existence, be either eternally rewarded, or eternally punished. And therefore, among the various Kinds of Probation, which we are liable to undergo, this of believing upon reasonable Grounds is one; and for this Cause it is, that Almighty God has not fixed the Grounds of our Belief on such self-evident Principles, as to necessitate and force our Assent; but so as to leave some room for the *Virtue* of believing. For although it is undoubtedly true, that our Assent must necessarily follow Conviction, and that our Faith or Belief will necessarily preponderate on that Side of the Question where the greatest Evidence lies; yet must it also be allowed to be a Virtue, and a Happiness, to be able to preserve the Mind in such a due Balance and Frame of judging, as to give its Assent only upon reasonable Grounds. Could our Passions never get the better of our Reason, there would be no such Thing as Vice; could our Reason never get the better of our Passions, there would be no such Thing as Virtue; and, of Consequence, no Foundation for Rewards or Punishments; which naturally and necessarily belong to free Actions. And therefore the Evidence of our *Belief* in the Word of God, is not laid before us, and written in such legible Characters, as that he that runneth may read, but in such as that he, who searcheth for it with Diligence, Impartiality, and Industry, and is of an humble and teachable Disposition, may discover it with sufficient Ease. For although Almighty God hath framed Mankind for Happiness; yet this Happiness is not to be acquired without some Labour and Industry on
our

our Part. The Earth will bring forth Briars and Thorns, if we do not take Care to cultivate and till it: The Ore lies hid in the Bowels of a barren Mountain, and is to be discovered by a few Marks in the Surface, known only to the curious and inquisitive. And why is all this Wealth so artfully concealed? Only to try and prove the Industry of Man. Knowledge also in general, as well human as divine, lieth deep, it must be dug for before it is found. And why? Only to prove us, and try whether we think it worth the searching for?

And as to the Objection raised from the different Sentiments of *Jews* and *Christians*, concerning almost every Point that is necessary to be known and agreed upon; this is not true. They do indeed differ about the Interpretation of some Passages in the Scriptures, which is the necessary Consequence of a Freedom of Will: But they are sufficiently agreed about those Questions here mentioned by the noble Viscount, "*Who were the Authors? When were they published? How were they composed and preserved, or renewed?*" &c. Even so sufficiently agreed, as to make them a Rule of Faith. And surely it is no small Proof of the Truth of those Things wherein they agree, when they shew so great an Inclination to quarrel about other Things, and to find all the Fault with one another that they possibly can.

But, says Lord *Bolingbroke*, "If we could believe with the *Rabbies*, that *Moses* wrote every Word of the *Pentateuch*; or with *Philo* and *Josephus*, that *Moses* wrote the Account of his own Death and Sepulchre; — yet would I venture to assert, that he who expects to find a System of Chronology, or a Thread of History, or sufficient Materials for either, in the Books of the Old Testament, expects to find what the Authors of these Books, whoever they were, never intended [6]." Which is undoubt-

edly true. And I believe it never before entered into the Head of any Man to suppose otherwise. But how should the noble Viscount have an Opportunity of introducing all the sarcastical Jokes which he has here in these Letters thrown out, with regard to the ridiculous Opinions of some of the *Jewish Rabbins*, or against the Histories of the Old and New Testament, if he did not consider them in this Light? His original Design in writing these Letters, seems to have been to vindicate the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and to shew his own great Knowledge in the History of *Europe* for some Centuries past, and of the separate Interests of the principal Actors in this great Scene; which, how he hath performed, I leave to the Politicians to determine. But, I own I cannot see what need there was for him to go back beyond that Period of Time, which he very justly fixes as the proper *Æra* for beginning his Enquiry, that is, the Invention of the Art of Printing, and the Resurrection of Literature from thence; were it not that it furnished him with an Opportunity of giving some Strokes at the antient Histories in the Canon of the Old Testament, and some few Flings at the New?

And in order to shew, “that the Author or Authors of the *Pentateuch* answer as little the Purpose of Antiquaries in History, as in Chronology,” he desires his Reader to consider, that the History of two thousand Years “is comprised in eleven short Chapters of *Genesis* [7].” He then proceeds to give a droll Abstract of them, and, *inter alia*, tells us, that “the Sons of God lay with the Daughters of Men, and begat Giants [8],” which he imagines will appear ridiculous to the Reader, because it is not every body that understands *Hebrew*, and the true Force of the Expressions in that Language; whereas to those that do, it is well known, that the *Jews* were used to style any

[7] Let. iii. p. 106.

[8] P. 107.

thing that was high and elevated, by the Expression of being *A Thing of God*, or a *God-like Thing*. Which they carried so far, as not only to give this Title to Men and Angels, but even to the inanimate Creation. Thus they styled the great Disputes or Struggles, or Wrestling, which *Rachel* had with her Sister *Leah*, the *Wrestlings of God* [9], as well as a mighty Prince, a *Prince of God* &c. [1] This Expression therefore, here alluded to, signifies no more than this, that the Sons of God, -i. e. the Men of Power and Authority in those Days, began to abuse that Power, and forcibly to take away the Daughters of Men, that is, of the poorer sort of People, by whom, having illegitimate Children, who were frequently Men of *Strength*, as the original Word, which we translate *Giant*, literally signifies; these illegitimate Children, having no Inheritance of their own, addicted themselves, for a Livelihood, to Rapine and Plunder.

He then proceeds to give an Account of the Conduct of the Children of *Noah* at *Babel*, and says, that “these Children of one Family were divided into several Languages, even whilst they lived together, spoke the same Language, and were employed in the same Work [2].” There is no body that can express himself more properly, or more clearly, than Lord *Bolingbroke*, when he pleases; but in this Sentence he seems to be industriously confused. Does he mean to say, what his Words seem to imply, that while the Children of one Family spoke only one Language, and were employed in the same Work; they yet at the same Time spoke different Languages, and continued to carry on the same Work? If he does, he means to say what neither is, nor can be true. But if he means, that the Children of one Family, who, while God thought proper to keep them united, spoke only one Language, and were

[9] Gen. xxx. 8.

[1] Gen. xxiii. 6.

[2] Let. iii. p. 107.

employed in the same Work ; yet, when God thought proper to disperse them, and oblige them to leave off their Work, that he confounded their Language, and, by Virtue of his supernatural Power, deprived the Majority of the Remembrance of their native Tongue ; and inspired the several lesser Families of which that Majority was composed, with the Knowledge of various and distinct Languages, one of which each lesser Division might understand, but was unintelligible to the rest ; by which Means these several Families, being rendered useless to each other, because they could not understand one another, were obliged to disperse, and people the whole Earth, according to their Tongues, in their Lands, after their Nations : If this be what he means, then indeed he means what is reasonable and true, but his Meaning is ill expressed.

But, “ upon the whole Matter, says he, if we may guess at the Design of an Author, by the Contents of his Book, the Design of *Moses*, or of the Author of the History ascribed to him in this Part of it, was, to inform the People of *Israel* of their Descent from *Noah* by *Sem*, and of *Noah's* from *Adam* by *Seth* ; to illustrate their Original ; to establish their Claim to the Land of *Canaan*, and to justify all the Cruelties committed by *Joshua* in the Conquest of the *Canaanites* [3].” Then the noble Lord proceeds to specify the Curse given by *Noah* to *Canaan*, for an Offence committed by his Father *Ham* ; and observes, that “ *Ham* alone offended : *Canaan* was innocent. — *Canaan* alone was cursed ; and he became, according to his Grandfather's Prophecy, a Servant of Servants, that is, the vilest of Slaves to *Sem*, although not to *Japhet* ; when the *Israelites* conquered *Palestine* ; to one of his Uncles, not to his Brethren. Will it be said, — it has been said, —

[3] Let. iii. p. 109.

“ that where we read *Canaan*, we are to understand
 “ *Ham*, whose Brethren *Sem* and *Japhet* were? At
 “ this rate we shall never know what we read, as these
 “ Critics never care what they say.” “ Will it be
 “ said, — this has been said too, — that *Ham* was
 “ punished in his Posterity, when *Canaan* was cursed,
 “ and his Descendants were exterminated. But who
 “ does not see, that the Curse and the Punishment, in
 “ this Case, fell on *Canaan* and his Posterity, exclu-
 “ sively of the rest of the Posterity of *Ham* [4]? ”
 And now I appeal to your Lordship, whether any
 thing can be more unfair, than the Treatment given
 to this Passage by the noble Viscount? *At this rate*
we shall never know, says he, *what we read*. And how
 is it that we know what we read? Is it by insisting
 on every literal or verbal Mistake that is made in co-
 pying of Manuscripts; or when we find a manifest
 Mistake, is it not by comparing what we read with
 the Context, and correcting any Error of the Pen or
 Press, so as to make the Sense of the whole Passage
 entire? And, if the noble Viscount would have allow-
 ed himself Patience to have done this, he might easily
 have rectified the Mistake. For, as he observes, it
 was *Ham* alone offended; and yet it is *Canaan* alone
 that is cursed. And that the Words of the Curse are,
 that the Person cursed *shall be a Servant of Servants to*
his Brethren, viz. *Shem* and *Japhet*. Hence it is mani-
 fest, that *Canaan* could not be the Person cursed; be-
 cause, as the noble Viscount also remarks, he would
 then be made a Servant of Servants, not to his
Brethren, but to his *Uncles*. It is also to be observed,
 that, in the preceding Verses, where *Ham* is spoken
 of as being guilty of the Offence, he is particularly
 specified by the Name of *Ham, the Father of Canaan*.
 [5] For, says *Moses*, *Ham, the Father of Canaan, saw*
his Father's Nakedness, &c. And *Noah* awaked from his

[4] P. 110.

[5] Gen. ix. 18, 22.

Wine, and knew what his younger Son (Ham) had done unto him. And he said, Cursed be Canaan, &c. Whereas is it not plain, that this last must be a Mistake in the Transcriber of the Copy, and that the whole Passage must, in the Original, have run thus: *Ham, the Father of Canaan, saw his Father's Nakedness; and Noah awaked from his Wine, and knew what his younger Son had done unto him. And he said, Cursed be [Ham the Father of] Canaan; a Servant of Servants shall he be unto his Brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and [Ham the Father of] Canaan shall be his Servant. God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the Tents of Shem; and Ham [the Father of] Canaan shall be his Servant.* But, says the noble Viscount, "who does not see that " the Curse and the Punishment, *in this Case,*" (that is, in the Extirpation of the *Canaanites*) "fell on " *Canaan*, and his Posterity, exclusively of the rest of " the Posterity of *Ham*?" And without Doubt so it did in that *one Case*; but the Curse was general, and included *Ham*, and all his Posterity, as well as *Canaan*, and was accordingly fulfilled in them all, directly contrary to the express Assertions of the noble Viscount; when he says, "The Descendants of *Misraim*, another " of his Sons, were the *Egyptians*; and they were so " far from being Servants of Servants to their Cousins " the *Semites*, that these were Servants of Servants to " them, during more than fourscore Years." Whereas it is manifest on the contrary, that *Egypt*, or the *Land of Ham*, was made tributary to the Offspring of *Shem*, in the Person of *Cambyses*, and his Successors, who reduced *Egypt*, as well as *Canaan*, under the *Persian* Yoke; under which it continued until the Reign of *Darius Notbus*, when the *Egyptians*, having driven the *Persians* out of that Country, regained their Liberty; until they were again reduced by *Ocbus* King of *Persia*, and remained in Subjection to that Empire, until *Darius Codomanus* was defeated by *Alexander the Great*; when *Egypt* fell under the Power of that Prince,

with the rest of the Provinces of the *Persian* Empire. By which Means *Ham*, with his Posterity, became a *Servant of Servants unto his Brethren*, having been first brought into Subjection by the *Persians*, that were of the Line of *Shem*, and being again subdued by the *Greeks*, who were the Descendants of *Japhet*. This Part of the Curse was therefore literally fulfilled, it being manifest, that the whole Posterity of *Ham* was made a *Servant of Servants*, when the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who were the Posterity of *Japhet*, enlarged their Borders by conquering the *Persians*, and taking Possession of the Tents of *Shem*, both in *Egypt* and *Canaan*. But the Reason why the Name of *Canaan* alone, of all the Children of *Ham*, was particularly mentioned at that Time by *Moses*, as being included in the Curse pronounced by *Noah*, was, because the *Israelites*, who were the Offspring of *Shem*, were then going to fulfil that Part of the Curse, and to take Possession of the Land of *Canaan* for the first Time.

And as to *all the Cruelties committed by Joshua on the Conquest of the Canaanites*; I know not one that *Joshua* was guilty of, but such as were the natural and necessary Consequences of the Fate of War. The Insinuation, however, to which this Observation leads, is easily seen; whereas if the noble Viscount had but considered, that God is the Governor of this Universe, and that he has an absolute Right to dispossess any of the Inhabitants of it, either on Account of their Wickedness, or for any other Reason which he may see good in his unerring Wisdom, and to give their Possessions to other People; then the Extirpation of the *Canaanites* by *Joshua*, would not have appeared so unrighteous a Thing in the righteous Eyes of this noble Viscount. Because, *in this Case*, *JOSHUA* and the *Israelites* are to be considered only as so many Instruments in the Hand of God, which were made use of by him for the Execution of his Vengeance. And in this very Sense it is, that God was pleased to explain the

Deter-

Determinations of his Will, with regard to this very Event of the Extermination of the *Canaanites*, when he promised their Land unto *Abraham*. For, says *Moses*, GOD said unto *Abraham*, Know of a Surety that thy Seed shall be a Stranger in a Land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred Years. And also that Nation whom they serve will I judge; and afterwards shall they come out with great Substance. And thou shalt go to thy Fathers in Peace; thou shalt be buried in a good old Age. But in the fourth Generation they shall come hither again: FOR THE INIQUITY OF THE AMORITES IS NOT YET FULL [5]. And for the same Reason it was, that is, on Account of their Iniquity, that God so strictly prohibited the *Israelites* from entering into Leagues, or making any Covenants with the *Canaanites*, when they were going to take Possession of that Country: For, says *Jehovah* unto the *Israelites*, Take heed unto thyself, lest thou make a Covenant with the Inhabitants of the Land whither thou goest, lest it be for a Snare in the midst of thee. But ye shall destroy their Altars, break their Images, and cut down their Groves. Lest thou make a Covenant with the Inhabitants of the Land, and they go a whoring after their Gods, and do Sacrifice unto their Gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of this Sacrifice. And thou take of their Daughters unto thy Sons, and their Daughters go a whoring after their Gods, and make thy Sons go a whoring after their Gods [6].

But Lord *Bolinbroke* proceeds, and says, “It would not be worth while to lengthen this tedious Letter, by setting down any more of the Contents of the History of the Bible. Your Lordship may please to call the Substance of it to your Mind; and your native Candour, and Love of Truth, will oblige you then to confess, that these sacred Books do not aim, in any Part of them, at any Thing like

[5] Gen. xv. 13—16.

[6] Exod. xxxiv, 12, &c.

“universal Chronology and History [7].” And who, of common Sense, ever said they did? The Writers of universal History and Chronology are obliged to have Recourse to the sacred Books, on account of their Antiquity, as they are the only Books of any Authority, imperfect as they are, which treat of the Affairs of *Palestine* and *Egypt*, with any Manner of Certainty, in those early Ages of the World; but I never yet heard it suggested before, that these sacred Books were canonized, as Treatises of universal History and Chronology.

But, continues his Lordship, “they contain a very imperfect Account of the *Israelites* themselves; of their Settlement in the Land of Promise, of which, by the way, they never had entire, and scarce ever peaceable Possession; of their Divisions, Apostasies, Repentances, Relapses, Triumphs, and Defeats [8].” If his Lordship means, that they contain a very imperfect Account, with regard to the Views with which his Lordship seems at present to have consulted those sacred Books, only to collect from thence a political History for the Instruction of Statesmen, with regard to the Treaty of *Utrecht*, he, in some measure, says true. But if his Lordship had read them with the View for which they were written, which was to instruct us in a due Obedience to our Creator, he might have learned from the *Experience* of the *Israelites*, that the due Observance of the Commands of God, was the best Policy which it is possible for any Man to pursue; of which he would meet in those sacred Books with so *perfect* an Account, that he could not but have seen that the *Triumphs* of the *Israelites* were owing to their *Repentances*; and their *Defeats* to their *Divisions*, *Apostasies*, and *Relapses*. And if, “by the way, they never had entire, and scarce ever peaceable Possession of the Land of *Canaan*,” does it not appear to a Demonstration, as plain as Words can

[7] Let iii. p. 112.

[8] P. 113.

make it, that this was owing to their own Indolence and Disobedience to the Commands of GOD? For which they paid very dearly afterwards, and of which they had early and timely Notice; for, said *Moses* unto them, *Ye shall dispossess the Inhabitants of the Land, and dwell therein. — But if ye will not drive out the Inhabitants of the Land from before you; then it shall come to pass, that those which ye let remain of them, shall be Pricks in your Eyes, and Thorns in your Sides, and shall vex you in the Land wherein you dwell* [9].

But, says the noble Viscount, “ One particular Observation, and but one, I will make, to shew what Knowledge in the History of Mankind, and in the Computation of Time, may be expected from these Books. The *Assyrians* were their Neighbours, powerful Neighbours, with whom they had much to do. Of this Empire therefore, if of any Thing, we might hope to find some satisfactory Accounts. What do we find? The Scripture takes no Notice of any *Assyrian* Kingdom, till just before the Time when prophane History makes that Empire to end. Then we hear of *Phul*, of *Tiglath-Phalassar*, who was perhaps the same Person; and of *Salmanafer*, who took *Samaria*, in the twelfth of the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*, that is, twelve Years after the *Assyrian* Empire was no more. *Sennacherib* succeeds to him, and *Afferbaddon* to *Sennacherib*. What shall we say to this apparent Contrariety? If the Silence of the Bible creates a strong Presumption against the first, may not the Silence of prophane Authority create some against the second *Assyrian* Monarchs? The Pains that are taken to persuade, that there is room enough between *Sardanapalus* and *Cyrus* for the second, will not resolve the Difficulty [1].”

I choose to quote this whole Passage, for fear I should be thought to lessen any Thing of the Force of the Objection. In Answer to which, it is first to be

[9] Num. xxxiii. 55, 56.

[1] Let. iii. p. 114, 115.

observed, that the noble Viscount takes it for granted, that the sacred Writings were designed as a Treatise of universal History and Chronology; and then argues against them upon this Supposition. Which is very unfair. Whereas it is manifest, from the whole Tenor of those sacred Books, that neither the Affairs of *Assyria* nor *Egypt* are taken Notice of therein, but just so far as they had Relation to the *Israelites*, when they are spoken of as Enemies raised up by God for their Punishment, or as Friends for their Protection; or when some remarkable or supernatural Operation is wrought upon them for the Preservation of the *Israelites*; when they, upon their Repentance, applied seriously to God for his Protection. And this is the Reason why the *Scriptures* take no Notice of any *Assyrian Kingdom*, until just before the Time when prophane History makes that Empire to end. Because there was no such Event as is above-mentioned, that happened between the *Assyrians* and *Israelites*, until about that Time. But, says he, “then we hear of *Pbul* and “*Tiglatb-Phalassar*, who was perhaps the same Person, “and of *Salmanassar*, who took *Samaria* in the twelfth “of the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*, that is, twelve Years after “the *Assyrian* Empire was no more.” Whence it is manifest, that his Lordship takes it for granted, that the Kingdom of *Assyria* was at an End, when *Nabonassar* began to reign in *Babylon*. Which is just the same Method of arguing as if any one should say, That there was an End to the Kingdom of *Judab* when *Jeroboam* revolted, and erected the Kingdom of *Israet* at *Samaria*, or, that there was an End to the Kingdom of *Spain*, when the Kingdom of *Portugal* was separated from it.

The Kings of *Assyria* were, during the full Grandeur of that Empire, Kings of *Babylon*, as well as of *Nineveh*, and the rest of *Assyria*; but towards the Decline of the Empire, *Nabonassar* arose, and separated the Kingdom of *Babylon* from that of *Assyria*, the King
of

of *Affyria* still living at *Nineveh*, and the King of *Babylon* at *Babylon*; which Separation continued, however, but for a few Generations, *Babylon* being recovered again, and re-united to its antient Empire, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, King of *Affyria*. Where then is the *Contrariety*, or *Contradiction*, to say, in the Language of the Scriptures, that *it came to pass in the fourth Year of Hezekiah, King of Judah*, (which was the seventh Year of *Hosea*, Son of *Elah*, King of *Israel*) that *Shalmaneser, King of Affyria, came up against Samaria, and besieged it* [2]; although this Event also came to pass in the twelfth Year of the Reign of *Nabonassar*, King of *Babylon*? If there is any, I own I am blind enough not to see it.

But, saith his Lordship, “ If the Silence of the Bible creates a strong Presumption against the first, may not the Silence of prophane Authority create some against the second *Affyrian Monarchs*?” By the first *Affyrian Monarchs*, I suppose he means the *Affyrian Monarchs* that reigned from *Nimrod* to *Tiglath-Palassar*, during whose Reign it was that *Nabonassar* erected the separate Kingdom of *Babylon*. And by the second *Affyrian Monarchs*, I suppose, he means those who reigned from *Tiglath Pilassar* until the *Affyrian Monarchy* was entirely destroyed, and was absorbed by *Cyrus* in that of *Persia*. And if so, I cannot see the least Reason why the Silence of the Bible should create any *Presumption against the first of these Monarchs*, since the Bible neither took Notice either of the first, or second, but just so far as the Affairs of *Affyria* were intermixed with the Affairs of the *Israelites*, as hath been already observed; and as to the Silence of the prophane Histories, with regard to the second, I do not think myself under any Obligation to vindicate either their Silence or Mistakes. But, says our Author, “ The Pains that are taken to persuade, that there is room enough between *Sardanapalus*

“ and *Cyrus*, for the second, will not resolve the Difficulty.” And why not? For if the prophane Historians are silent about the Succession of Princes in the Throne of *Nineveh* from *Sardanapalus*, or rather from *Phul* or *Tiglath-Pilasser*, who was the next Prince but one after *Sardanapalus* on the *Assyrian* Throne, until the Time of *Cyrus*, which makes up a Period of about two hundred Years, ought not we, if possible, to supply this Defect? And suppose we only put the Credibility of the sacred Writings upon the same Footing with prophane Histories, if we can supply it no where else, ought we not to borrow it from thence? And, if there is *Room enough*, ought not this Void to be filled up?

But, says the noble Viscount, “ I agree then that History has been purposely and systematically falsified in all Ages, and that Partiality and Prejudice have occasioned both voluntary and involuntary Errors, even in the best. Let me say without Offence, my Lord, since I may say it with Truth, and am able to prove it, that ecclesiastical Authority has led the Way to this Corruption in all Ages and all Religions.” Then, after taking Notice of the Absurdities that the Priesthood imposed upon the Ignorance and Superstition of Mankind, in the *Pagan* World, he adds, “ That the *Jews* have been guilty of this, will be allowed: And, to the Shame of Christians, if not of Christianity; the Fathers of one Church have no Right to fling the first Stone at the Fathers of the other [3].”

And here, my Lord, I bow my Head, not being able to deny the Truth of this Accusation; and I do acknowledge, that “ the same Spirit which prevailed in the Eastern Church, prevailed in the Western, and prevails still [4].” That is, so far as that all the Forgeries, that were formerly made, are not yet sufficiently discarded. And I do also allow, that it

[3] Let. iv. p. 122, 123.

[4] P. 125.

sometimes hath happened, that “the Charge of corrupting History, in the Cause of Religion, has been committed to the most famous Champions, and geatest Saints of the Church [5].” But here I must make a Distinction, with regard to the Word *Saints*, which is much too general a Word in this Place. Because it may cast a Reflection upon some Persons, who, being really *Saints*, that is, *holy Men*, would have suffered Death, rather than corrupt History. But, if it be understood to mean only such Persons as have been canonized for Saints by the Church of *Rome*, on account of their Attachment to that Church, and for having been Champions for the Pope of *Rome*, such as *Athanasius*, and others, I do acknowledge they have corrupted History, and shamefully corrupted it.

But if there are false Histories, and false Medals; are there not also true Histories, and true Medals? And are there not certain Criterions, by which the Critics in each Science are enabled to distinguish what is true from what is false? Although *Amadis of Gaul* is a Romance, are not *Davila* and *Guicciardin* true Historians? And if we do but follow the Rule laid down by his Lordship in another Place, with regard to Party-pamphlets, we need not fear being deceived, where he gives this Advice: “Read them with Suspicion, for they deserve to be suspected; pay no
“ Regard to the Epithets given, nor to the Judgments passed; neglect all Declamation, weigh the
“ Reasoning, and advert to Fact. With such Precaution, adds his Lordship, even *Burnet’s* History
“ may be of some Use [6].” And to which I will beg leave to add, that, with such Precaution, even the Champions of the Church may be read, as well as the Champions of the State For, my dear Lord, I must again repeat what I recommended to you once

[5] P. 128.

[6] Vol. II. Let. viii. p. 172.

before ; and that was, to beseech you never to let this Observation depart from your Mind, That we are placed here in this World only in a State of Probation and Trial, as well with regard to our Thoughts, as our Deeds ; and that it is according to our Conduct therein, that the Proportion of Happiness, which will be allotted to us in the last and ultimate State of our Existence, will be duly regulated : That the proper Use of our natural Faculties, in the disentangling of Truth from Error, is one of those Tests with which it hath pleased the Almighty to permit the Adversary of Mankind to *sift us, that they which are approved, may be made manifest amongst us* ; and therefore that it *must needs be that Offences come ; but Woe to him by whom the Offence cometh.*

I do also acknowledge, that “ religious zeal may “ boast this horrid Advantage over civil, that the “ Effects of it have been more sanguinary ; that different Religions have not been quite so barbarous “ to one another, as Sects of the same Religion ; and “ in like Manner, Nation has had better Quarter “ from Nation, than Party from Party [7].” But, my Lord, this is not peculiar either to *Judaism* or *Christianity*. It is human Nature. Zeal will always arise in Proportion to the Value Men put upon those Things which are the Object of their Zeal ; and hence it is, that Bigotry, whether *Pagan, Jewish, Mahometan, or Christian*, will always be attended with Cruelty ; which will also increase in Proportion to the Nearness of the Alliance which these furious Disputants bear to each other ; and hence also it is, that Civil Wars and Family-Disputes are generally carried on with more Violence than any others whatsoever.

I do also allow, that “ the Church hath sometimes “ destroyed the Works of those who have writ against “ her [8].” But I must likewise observe, that the

[7] Vol. II. Let. viii. p. 127.

[8] Let. iv. p. 128.

burning of Books did not begin with Christianity. For the noble Viscount may find in his favourite Author *Tacitus*, that this Practice began in *Rome* before Christianity was established there. Upon which *Tacitus* has this Remark, when speaking of some Books that were ordered to be burnt, *In this very Fire they imagined, that they should abolish the Voice and Utterance of the Roman People, with the Liberty of the Senate, and all the Remembrances of human Kind. For they had besides expelled all the Professors of Philosophy, and driven every laudable Science into Exile, that nothing which was worthy and honest might any where appear* [9]. So that when *Constantine the Great*, at the Head of the Council of *Nice*, ordered the Works of *Arius* to be burned, he only followed the Precedent, which he found among the *Roman Records*.

And now that I am in a conceding Mood, I will allow also to his Lordship, that “when there is not a
“total Want of Memorials, when some have been
“lost or destroyed, and others have been preserved
“and propagated, then we are in Danger of being
“deceived [1].” But then, as his Lordship also acknowledges, that “a small Gleam of Light, borrow-
“ed from foreign Anecdotes, serves often to discover
“a whole System of Falsehood: And even they, who
“corrupt History, frequently betray themselves by
“their Ignorance or Inadvertency [2].” And that,
“when Histories and historical Memoirs abound,
“even those that are false serve to the Discovery of
“Truth; because, being inspired by different Pas-
“sions, and contrived for opposite Purposes, they fre-
“quently contradict, and contradicting, convict one
“another [3].” The Conclusion I would draw from

[9] *Illo igne vocem populi Romani, & libertatem senatus, & conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrantur; expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus, atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Tacit. in Vita Agricolæ.*

[1] Let. iv. p. 132.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Let. iv. p. 133.

hence is, not that which the noble Viscount seems to point out, that it is more eligible to be uninformed, than deceived [4]; but this, that it is more eligible for us to be furnished, even with this Kind of Materials, than to remain quite *uninformed*, because there is no Necessity of being deceived, although there is a Possibility or Danger that we may.

I likewise approve of “the Order in which his Lordship rangeth those Objects of himself, his Family, the little Community of his own Country, and the great Community of the World [5].” To which I shall beg leave to add another, by much the greatest Community of all, and that is, the Community of *Spirits* through the whole Universe, which may all contribute to compose one grand System, with God at their Head, in which an infinite Number and Variety of intelligent Beings, besides Mankind, may be concerned, and which we must take into the Account, before we can frame any tolerable Notion of the Administration of God’s Providence, in the *Jewish* or *Christian* Dispensations; that is, either of the Fall of Man by the Temptation of *Satan*; or of the Redemption of Mankind by the Sufferings of the *Messiah*.

Mr. *Hume*, in his *Essays moral and political* [6], when speaking of *philosophical Devotion*, which, he says, is “the Effect of high Spirits, great Leisure, a fine Genius, and an Habit of Study and Contemplation,” adds, But, notwithstanding all these Circumstances, an abstracted invisible object, like that which natural Religion alone presents to us, cannot long actuate the Mind, or be of Moment in Life. To render the Passion of Continuance, we must find some Method of affecting the Senses and Imagination, and must embrace some historical, as well as some philosophical Accounts of the Divinity.” Now, as Mr. *Hume* ingenuously acknowledges, that

[4] P. 132.

[5] Let. v. p. 147.

[6] Essay xxi.

natural

natural Religion will not furnish us either with historical or philosophical Accounts of the Divinity, if we would have any such Accounts, we must therefore have Recourse to Revelation. And, if we believe with Lord *Bolingbroke*, that “ God acts with Men according to the moral Fitness of Things [7]; ” we cannot but suppose, that God hath given us some such Accounts of the Divinity, in order to actuate the Mind with Devotion, and has discovered to us some Method of affecting the Senses and Imagination, in order to render that Passion of Continuance, and to be of Moment in Life. Which, I hope to convince your Lordship, hath really been performed in the Books of the Old and New Testament, whenever I publish those additional Letters, which I gave you some Reason to expect at the Close of our last Correspondence.

And now, after several ingenious Observations on the Use of the various Kinds of History, his Lordship comes to instance in Divinity, and says, “ Surely the Clergy have a better Title than the Sons of *Apollo*, to be called *Genus irritabile vatum* [8]. ” Upon which I shall only observe, that his Lordship, to the *Dairo*, the *Mufti*, and the *Pope*, might have added, the *Druid*, the *Augur*, and the *Pontifex*. In short, all Persons, of what Nation, Opinion, or Sect soever, that make a *Trade* of Religion, and “ who regard nothing more than the Subsistence it affords them; or, in higher Life, the Wealth and Power they enjoy by the Means of it [9]. ” For, in this Respect, the *Priests of all Religions are the same*; the Zeal of such Persons not being so much moved *pro Aris*, as *pro Focis*; or, as *Demetrius* expresseth it, but because you know, *Sirs*, that by this Craft we have our Wealth [1]. And therefore the Ambition or Covetousness of the Priesthood, ought not to be brought as an Ar-

[7] Let. iii. p. 95.

[8] Let. v. p. 174.

[9] P. 184.

[1] Acts xix. 24.

gument against *Christianity*, any more than it ought to be against natural Religion. For Men are Men, whether Laity or Clergy, and are all fond of Power : And therefore, whenever the Clergy are suffered to exert their vindictive Spirit, I own, I do not so much wonder at *the Tyranny of the Clergy*, as at *the Servility of the Laity* [2].

But, supposing there are some, as his Lordship allows there are, who act more upon spiritual, than temporal Principles, he then says, that “ it has been
“ Matter of Astonishment to him, how such Persons
“ as these could take so much silly Pains to establish
“ Mystery on Metaphysics, Revelation on Philoso-
“ phy, and Matters of Fact on abstract Reasoning
[3] ? ” And, indeed, if any one attempted to *estab-*
lish Mystery, Revelation, or Matters of Fact on such Foundations, it would certainly be absurd, and their *Pains* would be *silly*. But when some Sceptics have made Use of Metaphysics, either in Opposition to Mystery, or to give a wrong Explanation of it; and of Philosophy, to overturn Revelation; and of abstract Reasoning, to confound Matters of Fact; is it not proper, that such Persons should be answered, their Objections obviated, and Mystery, Revelation, and Matters of Fact, vindicated from all the *silly* Cavils that have been raised against them ? Or, in short, is it not fitting, that, suitably to the Advice of *Solomon*, *A Fool should be answered according to his Folly, lest he be wise in his own Conceit* ?

I do acknowledge, with the noble Viscount, that
“ a Religion founded on the Authority of a divine
“ Mission, confirmed by Prophecies and Miracles, ap-
“ peals to Facts : And the Facts must be proved, as
“ all other Facts, that pass for authentic, are proved ;
“ for Faith so reasonable after this Proof, is absurd
“ before [4]. ” Which undoubtedly is true, and there-

[2] Let. iv. p. 130.

[3] Let. v. p. 175.

[4] Let. v. p. 174.

fore, I hope, by the Blessing of God, to be able to perform this Task, with regard to the Evidence on which the Veracity of the Matters of Fact, in the Old and New Testament, are founded, before this Letter is finished. And do promise, as far as lies in my Power, to avoid all those *unfair* Methods of Proof, which his Lordship hath very justly censured, in producing *false History*, or *sham Miracles*, or in *copying after others in those Mistakes*, which, *having been invented by one, have been adopted by hundreds* [5].

I do likewise acknowledge, that though “ the Fathers of the first Century do mention some Passages, that are agreeable to what we read in our Evangelists, it does not follow, that these Fathers had the same Gospel before them [6].” But it must be allowed to be a strong corroborating Circumstance, at the same Time, that those parallel Passages in the Evangelists are true. And, although it should also be acknowledged, that “ the Fathers of the first Century do not expressly name the Gospels we have, of *Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John* [7]:” Yet is this no Proof, either that they are false; or that they were not composed by those very Persons, and within that Period of Time. Because, in that early Age of the World, the publishing of Books was a very tedious Affair: For, before the Art of Printing was invented, there were no other Methods of getting the Copies of any Books, but the tedious Method of writing them over, Letter by Letter: And as at least thirty-three Years and an half, of the first Century, was spent before the Death of our Saviour, it would take some Time afterwards, before these Gospels were composed; and after they were composed, it would still take up a longer Time before Copies enough could be written of them, and spread abroad, and published to the World, so as to gain them any kind of Repute. For, as

[5] Let. v. p. 177. [6] Let. v. p. 178. [7] Let. v. p. 178.

St. *Luke* mentions, what of itself is very probable, that *many had taken in Hand, to set forth in Order, a Declaration of those Things which were most surely believed amongst them* [8]: It would take still longer Time, even after they were published, to compare these several Works together, and choose out those that were best. And, of Consequence, it would necessarily take up a long Series of Time, before those three Gospels of *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, which were written in different Parts of the World, could gain so universal a Reputation for their Excellency, as to be generally approved of; and therefore it is no Wonder, if it should be towards the Close of the first Century, before these Books should be in such high Repute, as to be thought worthy to be sent to St. *John*, who was then alive, for his Approbation. Who thereupon wrote his own Gospel, in order to supply the Deficiency of those Passages, which were omitted by the others. And as this Event did not happen until towards the End of the first Century, it is no Wonder if we should not meet with the Names of these four Evangelists, in any of the Fathers of that Century, or even until the middle of the Second; considering the Tediouſness and Expence, with which a literary Correspondence must be attended, before the Institution of regular Posts was established.

His Lordship further observes, that “ Writers of “ the *Roman* Religion have attempted to shew, that “ the Text of the Holy Writ is, on many Accounts, “ insufficient to be the sole Criterion of Orthodoxy: “ I apprehend too, says he, that they have shewn “ it [9].” Where the whole Force of this Remark, if it has any Force in it, consists in the double Meaning that is put on the Word *Orthodoxy*. Which Word, in its original and true Meaning, signifies *Right-thinking*: Whereas the common and technical Sense, in which

[8] Luke i. 1.

[9] Let. v. p. 179.

it ought generally to be understood, is, thinking according to the established Notion of that Country, in which such orthodox Person lives; in which Sense his Lordship is pleased, in another Place, to explain the Expression of *orthodox Clergy*, by calling them *the Clergy then in Fashion* [2]. And hence it is, that a Man may be thought *orthodox* at *Rome*, who would be thought very far from being *orthodox* in *England*. In order, therefore, to establish *the Criterion of Orthodoxy*, for one of *the Roman Religion*, it will not be *sufficient* to prove the Veracity of those Things, which are plainly and clearly revealed in holy Writ; but also the Supremacy of the Pope, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, Adoration of Images, &c. &c. &c. And I cannot but own, with his Lordship, although that is not what he would have been thought to mean, that, to the Establishment of this kind of *Orthodoxy*, the Writers on the Side of the *Roman Religion* have *shewn*, that the Text of the holy Writ is, on many Accounts, *insufficient*.

Whereas, in my humble Opinion, and I should indeed have expected also in his Lordship's, had he been a *Protestant*, or even a *Christian*, that he never would have allowed, either that the *Romanists*, or any other Writers, could shew, that holy Writ was insufficient to instruct Mankind in *Orthodoxy*, or, which is the same thing, to conduct them in the *right Way of Thinking*. That there are Difficulties in the Scriptures, cannot be denied; and that there will be Disputes about the Interpretation of them, perhaps to the End of the World, is more than probable. But the Knowledge and Understanding of those Difficulties is not necessary, towards rendering the Generality of Mankind truly *orthodox*; since it cannot be denied, but that there is enough in holy Writ, that is sufficiently manifest and plain, to every sincere Enquirer

after Truth, to make a good *Christian* of him, and to conduct him to Heaven and Happiness, through Faith in *Jesus Christ*, which is the only Use of all true *Christian Orthodoxy*. And therefore it may be truly said, as *Moses* beautifully expresseth it, that *the secret Things belong unto the LORD our GOD; but those Things which are revealed* [3], *belong unto us, and to our Children for ever, that we may do all the Words of this Law* [4].

But, says his Lordship, “The Writers of the reformed Religion have erected their Batteries against Tradition; and the only Difficulty they had to encounter in this Enterprize, lay in levelling and pointing their Cannon, so as to avoid demolishing, in one common Ruin, the Traditions they retain, and those they reject. Each Side has been employed, they have jointly laid their Axes to the Root of *Christianity*; for thus Men will be apt to reason upon what they have advanced, *If the Text has not that Authority, Clearness, and Precision, which are necessary to establish it, as a divine and a certain Rule of Faith and Practice; and if the Tradition of the Church from the first Ages of it, until the Days of Luther and Calvin, has been corrupted itself, and has served to corrupt the Faith and Practice of Christians; there remains, at this Time, no Standard at all of Christianity. By Consequence, either this Religion was not originally of divine Institution, or else GOD has not provided effectually for preserving the general Purity of it, and the Gates of Hell have actually prevailed, in Contradiction to his Promise, against the Church. — The Dilemma is terrible* [5].”

His Lordship seems to have reserved this *Dilemma* for his last Effort; and imagines, that this Argument

[3] The original Word, which is here rendered *revealed*, properly signifies *manifest* and *plain*.

[4] Deut. xxix. 29.

[5] Let. v. p. 179, 180.

may serve as a *Coup de Grace* for *Christianity*. Whereas the Mistake lies here, that his Lordship had conversed so long with the Divines in *Paris*, that, as I observed on another Occasion, towards the Beginning of this Letter, he takes *Popery* and *Christianity* to be the same Thing; and imagines *Christianity*, as well as *popish Orthodoxy*, to be founded on *Tradition*; and therefore he sets out, in the Introduction to this *terrible Dilemma*, with mentioning, that “the only Difficulty which the reformed Divines had to encounter, in their Enterprize against *Traditions*, lay in pointing their Cannon so as to avoid demolishing, in one common Ruin, the *Traditions* they retain, and those they reject.” Whereas his Lordship ought to have known, that the reformed Divines utterly reject all *Traditions*, and do not retain any. Their Faith is built upon the firm Foundation of holy Writ. So that if *the Traditions of the Church, from the first Ages of it, until the Days of Luther and Calvin, have been corrupted*; while there remains the written Word of God, this they assert to be a sufficient, as it is indeed the only proper *Standard of Christianity*. Which, if it be once allowed, then this *terrible Dilemma* is no more.

However, I sincerely join with his Lordship in declaring, “That it is high Time that the Clergy, of all *Christian* Communions, (whether *Popish* or *Protestant*) should join their Forces, and establish those historical Facts, which are the Foundations of the whole System, on clear and unquestionable historical Authority, such as they require, in all Cases of Moment, from others; reject candidly what cannot be thus established; and pursue their Enquiries, in the same Spirit of Truth, through all the Ages of the Church; without any Regard to Historians, Fathers, or Councils, more than they are strictly entitled to, on the Face of what they have transmit-

“ted to us, on their own Consistency, and on the
“Concurrence of their Authority [6].”

But though this is more to be wished for than expected, I shall proceed to throw in my Mite towards such a Performance; and shall endeavour *to establish those historical Facts, which are the Foundations of the whole System, both in the Old and New Testaments, on such clear and unquestionable Authority, as is required in all other Cases of Moment.* Which it will be the easier for me to do, as I have already pursued this very Plan, in some Letters lately published for the Use of the *Jews*; and from which, as that Book is now out of Print, I shall borrow what I find necessary for my present Purpose. And as the noble Viscount hath observed, that “the Authority on which we receive
“the Books of the New Testament, is so far from
“being founded on the Authority of the Old Testament, that it is quite independent on it [7];” I shall therefore consider these Systems separately; and, to comply, as much as ever lies in my Power, with all the Scruples of the noble Viscount, I shall begin first with the New Testament, and shall not consider it in the least as *being founded on the Authority of the Old Testament*; nor shall *pay any Regard to Historians, Fathers, or Councils, more than they are strictly entitled to on the Face of what they have transmitted to us, on their own Consistency, and on the Concurrence of their own Integrity.* And shall endeavour to *establish these historical Facts on such unquestionable Authority, as I should require in all Cases of Moment from others.*

Now, as in all our Dealings between Man and Man, when we want to be certified of the Truth of any Matter of Fact, of which, either on account of the Distance of Time or Place, we are incapable of being satisfied by the Evidence of our own Senses, we are necessarily obliged to have Recourse to the Testimo-

[6] Let. v. p. 183.

[7] Let. iii. p. 94.

ny of others; so, of Consequence, in the Case now before us, we must apply, for our Satisfaction, to the Testimony of others; according to the Degrees of which, we shall be obliged in Reason, either to restrain, or to yield our Assent.

And as no Person ought to expect a greater Degree of Belief to be given to his Testimony, than the Nature of the Evidence demands; so ought no reasonable Man ever to require any more, or other kind of Proof, to be given for any Matter of Fact, than the Nature of the Thing will bear.

Where the Proof of a Matter of Fact depends upon Testimony, the highest Degree of Proof, that can be given, hath been reduced, by one of the strictest [8] Reasoners of the last Age, to the Consideration of these *Six* Particulars: First, the Number of Witnesses. Secondly, Their Integrity. Thirdly, Their Skill. Fourthly, The Design of the Author, where it is a Testimony out of a Book cited. Fifthly, The Consistency of the Parts, and Circumstances of the Relation. And, Sixthly, Contrary Testimonies. I think, therefore, we cannot possibly take a fairer Method, in the Proof of those Matters of Fact, which we want to evince, than by producing our Evidence, and trying it according to the Rules here prescribed.

Mr. *Hume*, although he had this Precedent to follow, is far from treating this Subject in as masterly a Manner as Mr. *Locke*; for, says he, “The Contrariety of Evidence may be derived from several different Causes; from the Opposition of contrary Testimonies, from the Character or Number of the Witnesses; from the Manner of delivering their Testimony; or from the Union of all these Circumstances. We entertain a Suspicion concerning any Matter of Fact, when the Witnesses con-

[8] *Locke of Human Understanding*, l. iv. c. iv. xvi.

[9] *Essay on Miracles*.

“ tradict each other ; when they are but few, or of a
 “ suspicious Character ; when they have an Interest
 “ in what they affirm ; when they deliver their Testi-
 “ mony with Doubt and Hesitation, or, on the con-
 “ trary, with too violent Affeверations [1].” And
 indeed, wherever he chooses to differ from Mr. *Locke*,
 he generally does it to his own Disadvantage. As, for
 Example, where he is speaking of innate Ideas, and
 says, “ I desire to know what can be meant by assert-
 “ ing, that Self-love, or Resentment of Injuries, or
 “ the Passion betwixt the Sexes, is not innate [2] ? ”
 Whereas Mr. *Locke* does not say, that our Passions are
 not innate, but that the *Ideas* which these Passions
 excite in our Minds, are not innate. But Mr. *Hume*
 mistakes the Objects of our Ideas, for our Ideas. For
 Instance, although Self-love is allowed to be an innate
 Passion, yet the Mind can have no *Idea* of Self-love
 until after our Self-love hath begun to operate. For
 these Reasons I shall at present take Mr. *Locke* for my
 Guide, and shall consider the several Criteria by
 which the Validity of our Testimony is to be tried,
 according to the Method prescribed by him : But shall
 not however, neglect taking Notice of those additional
 Circumstances of Contrariety, which are mentioned
 by Mr. *Hume*.

First then, as to the Number of our Witnesses ;
 which would be too large to produce, if we were to
 bring in the Epistles which were written by the Apo-
 stles of *Jesus* to their several Churches ; and there-
 fore, for Brevity sake, we shall insist only upon *Four*
 Witnesses, as being a sufficient Number for establish-
 ing of Truth. Two of which were the Eye-Witnes-
 ses, and Companions of the Life of *Jesus* ; and the
 other two were Contemporaries with him, and had
 their Accounts from those who were Eye-Witnesses.
 All which four have left the History of the Life and

[1] Essay on Miracles.

[2] Essay on the Origin of Ideas.

Conversation of *Jesus*, in Writing, behind them. The Names of these four Historians, who were all *Jews*, are *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*.

Matthew was a Publican, that is, one who received the Customs, or Tribute, that was at this Time paid by the *Jews* to the *Romans*; which was no advantageous Part of his Character, those who undertook that Employment, being rendered by that Means very odious to the rest of the *Jews*. His *Hebrew* Name was [3] *Levi*, the Son of *Alpheus*, who, having followed *Jesus*, and having been an Eye-Witness of the Miracles which he performed, and being from thence convinced that he was the *Messiah*, wrote an [4] Account of them for the Use of the Inhabitants of *Palestine*. Which Account, having been written in the *Hebrew*, or rather *Syriac* Tongue, in the *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* Character, was soon translated into *Greek*, for the Use of those who did not understand the other Language; which is the Copy that is now come to our Hands.

Mark was a Disciple, and Auditor, and Companion of *Peter*, who was one of the Apostles, and most early Disciples of *Jesus*.

Luke was in the same Circumstance with *Mark*, not an Eye-Witness himself, but having conversed with those that were, he wrote an History of the Life and Transactions of *Jesus*, for the Use of one *Theophilus*, as he himself informs us, in the Introduction to his History, in this Manner: *For as much as many have taken in Hand to set forth in Order, a Declaration of those Things which are most surely believed among us; even as they delivered them unto us, which from the Beginning were Eye-Witnesses, and Ministers of the Word: It seemed good to me also, having had perfect Understanding of all Things* FROM THE VERY FIRST, *to write unto thee, in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mayest know the*

[3] Mat. ix. 9, 11. Mark ii. 14. Luke v. 27.

[4] Euseb. Eccles. l. iii. c. 24.

Certainty of those Things wherein thou hast been instructed.

The Words here rendered *from the very first*, are in the Original expressed by the Word *Ἀνωθεν*, which may very fairly and honestly be translated *from above*, according to its literal Signification, which would give his Testimony still greater Weight; for, according to *Stephens*, *Ἀνωθεν* exponitur, *Desuper, superne, e superiori loco, e superioribus, vel supernis locis, ab alto*. And that this is the Sense in which it is chiefly used, in the Language of the Scriptures, appears from *Matth. xxvii. 51. Mark xv. 38. John iii. 3. 7, 31. xix. 11, 23. James i. 17. iii. 15, 17.* where it will not bear any other Interpretation. But, to avoid Disputes, I have quoted the Words of *St. Luke* according to the vulgar Translation; and will suppose his Testimony to have no other Force than that of an inquisitive Reporter of what he had heard: Although, if the whole Paragraph here quoted, be rightly considered, the Strength of his Argument, for writing to *Theophilus*, upon a Subject which had been handled by others, according to the Report of those *which, from the Beginning, were Eye-Witnesses, and Ministers of the Word*, must depend upon this, that he had a stronger Assurance of the Truth of what he reports, than barely hear-say Evidence; having also been confirmed of the Truth thereof by Inspiration *from above*.

Luke was a Physician by Profession, and of Consequence a Man of Letters; and being one of the many who expected the coming of the *Messiah*, about that Time, if we suppose, that he was only attentive to the Accounts which he heard of the Miracles of *Jesus from the very first*; and though no Eye-Witness himself, yet having taken his Information from those that were, must be allowed to be a good corroborating Evidence. Which also probably was the Case of *Mark*, who although he does not mention it, yet it is very

very likely, that he was also attentive to those Things from the very first.

John was the favourite Disciple of *Jesus*, and having lived to a great Age, was pressed by his Friends [5], to set down, before his Death, an Account, in Writing, of the History of *Jesus*; upon which, having revised those Accounts which had been written by the three aforementioned Persons, he set down those Particulars of Moment, which had been omitted by them. So that two of our Witnesses, being Eye-Witnesses, and the other two having been attentive Enquirers, from the very first, into those Matters of Fact, which they relate, as told them by other Eye-Witnesses, there can be no Objection made to the Number of our Witnesses; since, if these two last mentioned should be rejected, there would still remain two, who were themselves Eye-Witnesses; and, according to the [6] Law of *Moses*, as well as the subsequent Practice of all Nations, two Witnesses are sufficient to establish the Truth of any Matter.

2. We must now therefore proceed, in the second Place, to consider the Integrity of the Witnesses; for although their Numbers were ever so great, if there is Reason to suspect their Integrity, the Degree of Assent which we are to yield to their Assertions, ought certainly from thence to be regulated. Now the Integrity of these Witnesses will appear, if we do but consider, in the first Place, the artless and undisguised Manner in which their Narrations are related; so as not to conceal the Failings and Infirmities, either of themselves, or of their best Friends. Thus it is fairly acknowledged, that *Matthew* was a Publican; nor is there the least Disguise thrown over the Ambition of the Sons of *Zebedee*; the Diffidence of *Thomas*; or the Backslidings of *Peter*, and the Timidity of the rest of

[5] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. iii. c. xxiv.

[6] Deut. xvii. 6. xix. 15.

the Apostles of *Jesus*; all which are set forth in the strongest Light. And what gives no small Proof of their Integrity, is the Consideration, that although these four Witnesses agree in their Evidence, with regard to the principal Matters of Fact, they yet disagree so much, in the Manner of their Narration, as to remove all Suspicion of any Collusion among them.

But what proves their Integrity beyond all Manner of Dispute, is, that they could have no Interest in publishing these Matters of Fact, but barely the Love of Truth; and the distant Expectation of a future Reward in another World. For as to this World, they must have given *that* up from the Moment that *Jesus* declared, in the Face of the whole *Jewish* People, at the Time of his Trial, that his *Kingdom was not of this World*.

But, after his Death, there could be no Hopes at all left, whatever Hopes they might have had until then, of any worldly Profit, in being a Disciple of *Jesus*. For then daily Experience convinced them, of the Truth of what *Jesus* had, in his Life-time, often declared unto them, that they should be as [7] *Lambs and Sheep in the midst of Wolves*. That they should not escape better than their Master; but that as his Enemies had persecuted him, so should they [8] persecute his Disciples also: That they should be put out of the Synagogues; nay, [9] *the Time cometh*, said he, *when whosoever killeth you, will think that he doeth GOD Service*. Which Sayings were probably verified in the particular Case of every one of these four Historians; who certainly subjected themselves to Ignominy, Reproach, and Persecution, for the Sake of that Doctrine, which they published to the World: And two of them undoubtedly suffered Death, rather than retract that Truth, which they had so publicly declared. So

[7] Mat. x. 16. Luke x. 3.

[8] John xv. 20.

[9] John xvi. 2.

that after this, there is no room left to doubt of the *Integrity* of these Witnesses; since the Sufferings of Death, or even Persecution, in Justification of one's Opinion, whether true or false, is the strongest Proof, which it is possible for any Man to give of his *Integrity* at least.

And therefore, although the Matters of Fact, which they bore Testimony of, were undoubtedly miraculous, and above the common Laws of Nature, yet as they *could have no Interest in what they relate* [1], the Evidence of their *Integrity* is so glaring and manifest, that one would think it sufficient to overcome, even the Diffidence of Mr. *Hume*. Because, to use his own Words, *The Falsehood of their Testimony would be more miraculous than the Event which they relate* [2].

3. But, as it may be urged, that a Man's Honesty is no Proof of his Ability; and that these poor well-meaning Men may have been deceived; therefore it will be necessary, in the *Third Place*, to consider *the Skill of our Witnesses*. And here it must be acknowledged, that it does not appear, that these Persons were bred up to any great Share of Literature, if we except St. *Luke*, who was a Physician: But then it is to be observed, on the other Hand, that the Evidence to which their Testimony is produced, requires no great Skill, either in judging of, or in the Narration. Whereas the Simplicity of their Lives and Conversations, as it renders them the freer from all Suspi-

[1] *Hume's Essay on Miracles.*

[2] *Id. ibid.* This Author, in Imitation of the Academic Philosophers, doubts every thing, and determines nothing. And is more employed in finding out what can be said on both Sides, and in raising Objections, than in pointing out the Truth: Which seems to be the Effect of a diffident and a timid Genius. The Traveller, who is overtaken by a Mist, or by the Night, and cannot see his Way clearly, as he is afraid of every Step he takes, so he makes but little Way: Whereas he who has Light sufficient to see his Road, springs forward with Alacrity, regardless of those Doubts which hinder the Progress of the benighted Traveller.

cion of attempting to impose upon their Readers; so does it make their Evidence the more credible; provided they had but *Skill* enough to prevent being imposed upon themselves, in the Things which they relate. Now, as the History which they have written, consists only in reporting certain Matters of Fact, which they saw and heard, every Man, that has but Eyes and Ears, and common Sense, has Skill enough to be a Judge of such kind of Things. They tell you the Facts that *Jesus* did: They tell you the Words that he spoke. The Consequence to be deduced from thence, belongs to the Reader, as well as to them.

They tell you, that he was born at *Bethlehem*, and that he lived at *Nazareth*; and that he went about, during the last three Years and a half of his Life, doing certain Works, which appeared to them to be miraculous; and that *Jesus* argued from thence, to prove the Divinity of his Mission: But it is the Reader's Business to judge, whether those Acts, as they are there related, were miraculous, or not; and whether they can be accounted for by natural Means; and whether the Argument deduced from thence, in Favour of a divine Mission, be conclusive. They tell you what those Works were: Feeding thousands of People with two Loaves of Bread, and a few small Fishes; healing the Sick in an Instant; curing the Leprous, the Blind, the Deaf, and the Lame: And, what is more than all, bringing the Dead back again to Life, not only after they had been dead some Hours, but some Days; one, when he was actually carrying upon the Bier to the Grave; and another, after he had been some Days in the Grave. They tell you, that he was crucified by Order of the *Roman* Governor *Pontius Pilate*, at the earnest Sollicitation of the *Jews*; and that he was buried in the Tomb belonging to one *Joseph* of *Arimathæa*; that he rose from thence on the third Day, and was seen and felt by his Disciples,

Disciples, and conversed frequently with them for forty Days afterwards.

Now it requires no great Skill in any Witness to be a Judge of all these kinds of Things, and to tell whether a Man be blind, or has his Eye-sight; whether he be leprous or clean; alive or dead: And, with a very small Degree of Attention, any Person, with the meanest Abilities, hath Skill sufficient to judge, whether these wonderful Cures, which they saw performed by our Saviour and his Apostles, were done according to the ordinaſy Rules of Phyſic, or were effected in a Moment, by the Touch of the Hand, or even by the ſpeaking of a Word. So that, with regard to ſuch Tranſactions as theſe, although ever ſo extraordinary in their own Nature, no Objection can lie againſt *the Skill* of theſe Witneſſes.

4. Hence we come, in the *Fourth* Place, to conſider *the Deſign of theſe Authors*, which certainly could not be bad; as the whole Purport of the Religion which they inculcate, is evidently calculated to recommend Piety towards God, and Good-will towards Man. Nor is it credible, that theſe Books could have been written with an evil Deſign of impoſing on the World, when we conſider that the Authors could be no Gain-ers by ſuch an Impoſture. When the Chriſtian Religion began to be countenanced by Princes and Potentates, and had once gotten ſome Footing in the World, Intereſt, or Vanity, or a miſguided Zeal, might have excited ſome weak Men to the Practice of pious Frauds, in privately compoſing ſome Books, or forging ſome Miracles, to propagate their own Opinions.

For, when a Doctrinethath once gained ſome Credit, and Men begin to be prejudiced in Favour of the Propagators of it; the Zeal of the Multitude, already prepoſſeſſed in Favour of ſuch Leaders and ſuch Doctrineth, may prevail upon them to believe whatever ſuch Leaders report, or indeed any Report, which

which tends to confirm them in their present Sentiments, without giving it a due Examination. Which seems to have been the Case of some Persons in the Christian Church, soon after the Death of the Apostles, whose Credulity is not always to be vindicated, nor their Report to be credited; as hath been undoubtedly proved by Dr. *Middleton*; who, although he may have pushed his Argument with too much Violence, and have gone too far in some Particulars, is undeniably right in too many others. And as the Prejudice of the Multitude, and the Gain of the Leaders, was by this Means encreased, so also did the Practice of these *pious Frauds* encrease; and have continued from that Time to this; as manifestly appears from the Regard paid by some Party-zealots to the Miracles reported to have been performed at the Tomb of *Abbé Paris*; who was “*a little Priest undistinguished during his Life, but dubbed a Saint by the Jansenists after his Death.*” And who, as Lord *Bolingbroke* justly observes, “*had the prime Minister been a Jansenist, might have been a Saint still* [3].” Whereas this was not the Case of those Miracles, which are recorded by our Authors, as performed by our Saviour and his Apostles; which were of various Kinds; were done in their Life-time, publicly in the Face of their Enemies, and subject, at the Time of their Performance, to the Scrutiny of the most learned Persons in the *Jewish Nation*, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, who set themselves in Opposition to *Jesus*. For, as the Bulk of the *Jews* were in Expectation of a triumphant *Messiah*, and not of a *lowly* one, instead of being prejudiced in Favour of *Jesus*, they were prejudiced against the Belief of a *Messiah*, who only appeared as *the Son of a Carpenter*. This was what neither suited their Interest, nor their Inclinations; and therefore it was no easy Matter to persuade them, that

any good Thing could come out of so poor a Place as *Nazareth*; and for the same Reasons, the Doctrine of *Christ crucified* was a *stumbling Block* to the Jews, and to the Greeks *Foolishness*; until their Prejudices, and, among the rest, the Prejudices of our four Historians, whose Testimony is here produced, were entirely removed by the irresistible Force of several wonderful Facts; which could no otherwise be accounted for, than as being done by a Person empowered and commissioned from God. Which Matters of Fact, two at least of these Historians were Eye-witnesses of, and wrote the History of them, at a Time when they could have no View, either of worldly Profit or Praise.

Nor is it reasonable to think, that, had they known the Christian Religion to have been false, their Zeal would ever have allowed them to proceed so far in the Cheat, as to be real Sufferers themselves, only that others might be the Gainers. Nor would they have endured Persecution rather than retract, or suffer Death rather than deny, the Truth of what they asserted. And when we consider, that the general Purport of these Books is, to recommend the Practice of Virtue and Goodness, and the Love of Truth, we may be sure, that real Falsehood would never take Pains to bring about these Purposes; since whatever Guise it may assume, and put outwardly upon itself, something very different from all these would lie hid underneath; and that, let the Pretences be ever so specious, something of worldly Interest would be couched at the bottom. Whereas these Authors, who wrote the History of a Person after he was dead, whom they acknowledge and declare to have been ignominiously crucified, and to have owned, that his *Kingdom was not of this World*, must be acquitted from having any such Design.

5. So that we may proceed, in the *Fifth* Place, to consider the *Consistency of the Parts, and the Circumstances of the Relation*. Which will bear but very little Contro-

Controversy; since whoever will give himself the Trouble of reading these four Authors, will see one general Scheme carried on through each of them; wherein they give us a short Account of the Life of *Jesus*, from his Birth to the Time of his Ascension into Heaven. In which they *deliver their Testimony without Doubt and Hesitation*, and yet not with *too violent Asseverations* [4]; and are so consistent with themselves, as well as with each other, as to produce a wonderful and surprizing Harmony, whenever they are compared together; although they were written at different Times, and in very different Parts of the World. And whoever compares them, will find a sufficient Difference in the circumstantial Parts of the Narration, although not in the material, to prevent the Suspicion of the least Possibility of Combination. Thus, for Example, the three Evangelists, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, are principally employed in relating the plain practical Discourses upon moral Subjects, which our Saviour spoke to his Auditors in general; of which *Matthew*, who was an Ear-witness, is much more copious and particular in the Narration than the other two; but *Mark* and *Luke* are more exact and regular in specifying the Time and Place. Whereas *St. John*, who was his beloved and favourite Disciple, and attended upon him in his most retired Hours, does not only mention some Discourses that were omitted by them, but enters into the more mysterious and recondite Part of his Life and Character. He begins therefore with affirming, that He was *in the Beginning with God*, and that He *was God*; and that *all Things were made by him*, &c. But then he is, for the same Reason, more explicit than all the rest of the Evangelists taken together, in declaring, that this Power was given into his Hands by God the Father, and in asserting the Dependency of the Son on God

[4] Hume's Ess. on Miracles.

the Father, both before he took human Nature upon himself, and afterwards. Which renders the Gospel of *St. John* more elevated, as well as more mysterious, than any of the others. And if there are some few Places and small Circumstances, which, at first View, seem to disagree, they are of such a Nature, that they either admit an easy Reconciliation, or must be ascribed to a Mistake in the Transcribers of the Copies.

And indeed there is one Circumstance attending these Histories, to the Veracity of which the *Jews* themselves, as well as the City of *Jerusalem*, are a standing and a living Evidence; which is, that they contain a Prophecy relating to the [5] Dispersion of the *Jews*, and the Destruction of the Temple, which continues daily to be fulfilled. The Force of which was attempted to be eluded by the Emperor *Julian*, who employed the Power of the *Roman* Empire in endeavouring to rebuild the Temple, and replace the *Jews* in their own Land; but was defeated of his Purposes by the visible, but supernatural, Eruption of Globes of Fire through the Foundations of the Temple, which never ceased scattering Destruction about them, until the Undertakers desisted from their Attempt. Which is a Matter of Fact, in which all Historians, who mention those Times and Transactions, whether *Christian*, *Jewish*, or *Heathen*, unanimously agree.

6. Having thus considered the Consistency of the Parts, and the Circumstances of the History, of the Life of *Jesus*, as related by the four Evangelists, we come now to the *Sixth*, and last Criterion, by which the Truth of this History is to be tried, which is *the contrary Testimonies*. And under this Head, I am sure it does not yet appear, that any have ever been produced, which will, in the least, invalidate their Testimony.

[5] *Matth.* xxiv. 1, 2, 15. *Mark* xii. 2, 14. *Luke* xix. 14, 43, 44. *xxi.* 24.

Whereas if the Adversaries of *Christianity*, who lived at that Time, when the Gospels were written, had not been sure, that those Things were really true, as they are set down; we may be certain, that, as they wanted not Abilities, so neither would they have wanted Inclinations to have exposed them.

But if the Evidence of those Persons, who were bred up in a contrary Opinion, and continued to be Adversaries to *Christianity* until they were advanced in Years, although afterwards convinced of their Errors, may be comprehended under the Character of *contrary Testimony*; then some of the strongest Proofs, which are to be produced for corroborating and confirming the Truth of the History, as related by these four Evangelists, are of this Kind; for of this Sort were all the early Converts to *Christianity*: But, in particular, *Paul of Tarsus*, who was at first not only not a Friend to *Christianity*, but a bitter Enemy to it; *persecuting the Church, and binding, and delivering into Prison, both Men and Women*: Whose Epistles are come down to our Hands, giving an Account of his Conversion; and the History of the principal Part of whose Life is likewise still extant in the Book entitled, *The Acts of the Apostles*, written by his Companion *Luke*, who is one of the four Evangelists.

But, if under the Head of *contrary Testimonies*, those only are to be comprehended, who lived and died of a contrary Persuasion; we have great Reason to lament the Loss of that Account, which *Pontius Pilate* sent to *Tiberius Cæsar*, the then *Roman Emperor*, of the Transactions which passed during his Government of *Judæa*. For that *Jesus* was mentioned in it in an extraordinary Manner, we have great Reason to believe, from the Works of *Justin Martyr*, who lived about 100 Years after the Death of *Jesus*; and who appealed to this Record, for the Truth of what he affirmed in Favour of *Jesus*, in his Apology for the *Christian Religion*,

Religion, which he [6] dedicated to the Emperor *Antoninus*, to the *Cæsars*, his Sons, and to the whole Senate and People of *Rome*; and which he delivered in, being then an Inhabitant of that City himself.

The Works, however, of *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, and *Dion Cassius*, all Heathen Writers, are come down to our Hands, and they confirm that Circumstance mentioned by the four Evangelists, of an Order being issued from *Augustus Cæsar*, that the whole Empire should be taxed. And [7] *Tacitus* particularly mentions, that in the Reign of *Tiberius*, when *Pontius Pilate* was Governor of *Judæa*, *Jesus* was brought in Judgment before him, condemned, and crucified. And both [8] he and [9] *Suetonius* mention the current [1] Report then prevalent, that some Person coming out of *Judæa* should obtain the Dominion of the Earth. Which, although they, as well as *Josephus*, as Lord *Bolingbroke* [2] observes, were mistaken in the then Application of it to the then reigning Roman Emperors, who had been in *Judæa*, is an undoubted Proof, however, that there was a general Expectation, which prevailed about that Time, of some extraordinary Person appearing in *Judæa*. And whence should this Report arise, but from the prophetic Writings of the *Jews*, which gave them Expectations of the coming of the *Messiah* about that Time, whom they, as well as the afore-mentioned Historians, at first, falsely understood to be a temporal Prince, and a triumphant worldly Hero?

And I think I may venture to affirm, that where any Heathen Writers have mentioned any of the Particulars which are recorded by the four Evangelists, instead of contradicting them, they always confirm their Testimony.

[6] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. iv. c. xi. xii.

nal. l. xv. sect. 44.

[8] Tacit. Hist. l. v.

l. viii. sect. 4.

[1] Percrebuerat rumor.

[7] Tacit. An-

[9] Suet.

[2] Let. iii.

But it is not to be wondered at, if many Instances are not to be produced of this Nature: First, because there were few or no Historians who lived in *Judæa*, where these Transactions happened. And, secondly, because the Actions performed by *Jesus* are not such, as are the proper Subjects of History; which concerns itself more with Politics than Religion. But where the Subject of any of the prophane Historians hath led them to treat about those Affairs which referred to the History of *Jesus*, there we always find a remarkable Confirmation of the Veracity of these four Evangelists, without any one Instance, that I have ever yet heard of, to the contrary.

Even *Celsus*, *Julian*, *Porphyry*, and *Hierocles*, who were all not only Pagans, but professed Enemies of Christianity, acknowledge the Matters of Fact, and allow the Miracles recorded of *Jesus* to have been performed; but only deny them to have been done by the Power of God, and ascribe them to the Power of Art-Magic.

And thus having gone through the Six Criteria, which are fixed by Mr. *Locke*, as sufficient Tests for ascertaining and establishing the Degrees of Probability; and having shewn, that the Number of our Witnesses is such, as hath been thought sufficient, in all Ages, to determine our Assent, even in the Courts of Judicature; that their having suffered Persecution and Death, rather than retract their Assertions, is a sufficient Proof of their Integrity; that they had Skill equal to their Undertaking, which was only to relate Matters of Fact; that the Design of these Authors could not be to deceive, as there was no Possibility of their gaining any thing thereby; that the Parts, as well as Circumstances of their Relation, were all consistent together, and concurred in carrying on the general Scheme of a *Messiah*; and that no contrary Testimonies can be produced, but what rather tend to prove, that *Jesus* was that *Messiah*; I think we may,

in the Words of [3] Mr. *Locke*, also assert, that “where
 “ all these concur in the Proof of any one Thing,
 “ there Probability upon such Grounds carries so
 “ much Evidence with it, that it naturally determines
 “ the Judgment, and leaves us as little Liberty to
 “ believe or disbelieve, as a Demonstration does, whe-
 “ ther we will know, or be ignorant.”

So that the only Difficulty which seems to remain, is this, which must indeed be acknowledged as a Thing, at first Sight, to be wondered at, that if these Things are true; and that they are true, I think can hardly be doubted, How it comes to pass, that the *Jews*, who were perpetually looking into, and searching the prophetical Writings; and who were, at the Time of the coming of *Jesus* [4], *waiting for Redemption in Jerusalem*, and were then in full Expectation of the coming of the *Messiah*, should not more universally, than they did, acknowledge the Completion of these Prophecies in the Person of *Jesus*? The Reason, however, is not very difficult to assign, if we do but consider the strong Impression which the Thoughts of a triumphant *Messiah*, in the Form of an heroic and worldly Prince, had made upon their Minds, together with the strong Tendency, which seems implanted by G o d in all Mankind, towards that Religion in which they have been educated; whence arise most of those Difficulties that every one meets with in his Attempt to make Converts from any one Religion to another; especially to a Religion, which required the Mortification of their Passions, their quitting their worldly Interests, and which obliged them utterly to relinquish those Ceremonies, in which they had been bred up from their Infancy: Which, whoever tries, will find very difficult to bring

[3] *Locke of Human Understanding*, l. iv. c. xvi.

[4] *Luke* ii. 38. *John* i. 41. iv. 25.

about, even with those who are educated in the most absurd Doctrines of Popery, or Heathenism, or Mahometanism.

For although Almighty GOD, in his Dispensations with Mankind, is willing to afford them a reasonable Degree of Conviction, such as is sufficient to prevail with Men of teachable, unprejudiced, and impartial Dispositions; yet he hath not made the Investigation of Truth so easy, or so plain, in any one Branch of Knowledge, as to strike the indolent and uninquisitive, or to necessitate and force the Assent of the prejudiced and perverse: Because this would take away the Virtue and Merit of an impartial Enquiry, and remove all Claim and Title to Rewards and Punishments. And for this Reason Almighty God was pleased to describe the Coming of the *Messiah* in such a Manner, as that Men of unprejudiced Minds, whose Affections were not tied to this World, might know him, and distinguish him from all others, and, of Consequence, believe in him when he did come: But that Men of worldly Minds, and perverse Passions, might yet have room to *meet with strong Delusion, and believe a Lie. That none of the Wicked should understand it, but that the Wise should understand it.*

And hence it came to pass, that although the coming of *Jesus* as the *Messiah*, in so mean a Character as that of a Carpenter's Son, and who was afterwards crucified, was acknowledged by *Anna* and *Simeon*, and some illiterate Fishermen, it was yet a *Stumbling-block to the Jews, and to the Greeks Foolishness*. It seemed a Contradiction in Terms, to Men of worldly Minds, and who valued themselves for their worldly Wisdom, to suppose a *Deliverer* could be crucified, and a *Redeemer* put to Death. They saw no Slavery in Sin; and therefore thought of no

Deliverance

Deliverance from thence ; nor of any *Redemption* from the Power of the Grave. They desired no Exemption, but from the *Roman* Yoke ; no Triumph, but over worldly Enemies ; and no Victory, but over Armies that opposed them. They never considered, that they were greater Slaves to their own Passions, than they were to the *Roman* Senate ; that Death and Hell were the worst of Enemies ; and the Devil a greater Tyrant than *Cæsar*.

And now having sufficiently tired your Lordship, I shall release you for the present ; and shall, in my next, endeavour to vindicate the Authenticity of the History of the Old Testament ;

Who am, &c.

LETTER II.

MY LORD,

HAVING, in a former Letter, gone through the Proof of the Veracity of the Facts recorded of *Jesus Christ*, in the History of the New Testament, I shall proceed to vindicate the Authenticity of the Old Testament ; the chief Objections that are raised against which, by the noble Viscount, are, “ That the Law and the History were far from being blended together, as they now stand in the *Pentateuch*, even from the Time of *Moses* down to that
I “ of

“ of *Esdra*s [1].” And that, with regard to the other Parts of the Canon of the *Jewish* Scriptures, “ it is “ doubtful who were the Authors of these Scriptures “ when they were published ; how they were com- “ posed and preserved, or *renewed*, to use a remark- “ able Expression of the famous Huet in his *Demon- “ stration* ; in fine, how they were lost during the “ Captivity, and how they were retrieved after it, are “ all Matters of Controversy to this Day [2].” That “ *Philo* and *Josephus* believed, that *Moses* wrote the “ Account of his own Death and Sepulchre [3].” And accordingly his Lordship further observes, that the *Jews* “ rely on Traditions compiled long after the “ Canon of their Scriptures ; but deemed by them of “ equal Antiquity and Authority. Thus, for In- “ stance, *Daniel* and *Simon* the Just, according to “ them, were Members at the same Time of the “ great Synagogue, which began and finished the “ Canon of the Old Testament, under the Presidency “ of *Esdra*s. This *Esdra*s was the Prophet *Malachi*. “ *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*, was *Artaxerxes Longi- “ manus* ; he was *Abasuerus*, and he was the same *Da- “ rius* whom *Alexander* conquered. This, says he, “ may serve as a Sample of *Jewish Chronology*, form- “ ed on their Scriptures, which afford insufficient “ Lights, and on their Traditions, which afford false “ Lights [4].” As for the Traditions of the *Jews*, I shall be as far from defending them as his Lordship himself. I will also acknowledge, that they are exceeding bad Chronologers ; and that they confound both Names and Times. But what is all this to the Purpose ? The Books themselves are in Being. Let them speak for themselves ; and your Lordship will find, that these false Facts, in History and Chronology, are by no means *formed on their Scriptures*, as his Lordship

[1] Let. ii. p. 100.

[2] P. 101.

[3] P. 102.

[4] Let. iii. p. 104.

asserts, but on their Traditions; for *their Scriptures* say no such Things as are here charged to their Account, as hath been evidently made to appear by Dr. *Prideaux*, in his admirable Treatise on the Connexion of the Old and New Testaments, and to which Work I shall refer those who want any further Satisfaction upon those Particulars, which are specified by his Lordship. And, indeed, his Lordship does us the Justice to allow, that “we [*Christians*] are more
“ correct, and come nearer the Truth in these In-
“ stances, perhaps in some others, because, says he,
“ we make use of prophane Chronology to help
“ us [5].”

However, with regard to the Books themselves, his Lordship objects, that it is doubtful “who were
“ the Authors of these Scriptures, when they were
“ composed, and preserved, or *renewed*; in fine, how
“ they were lost during the Captivity, and how they
“ were retrieved after it.” To all which I will give his Lordship as short and as full an Answer as I possibly can; and if it be poor, it shall nevertheless be honest.

As to the five Books of *Moses*, they were composed by *Moses* himself. He was the Author of them. And they were, by the positive Command of *Moses*, preserved in the Chest or Ark [6], in which the two Tables of the Law, *Aaron's Rod*, and the Pot of Manna, were kept with the utmost Care in the Sanctuary, or Holy of Holies. And with how much sacred Veneration that Place was approached once a Year by the High-Priest, I need not mention.

The Book of *Joshua* was also written by *Joshua*, and was lodged by *Joshua* himself, a little before his Death, in the same Place with the Books of *Moses*. And probably it was *Joshua* also, that wrote not only *the last Chapter* of the Book of *Deuteronomy*, as

[5] P. 104.

[6] Deut. xxxi. 9, 24, 25, 26.

the noble Viscount observes, but the two last Chapters of that Book, and the nine last Verses of the 31st Chapter, wherein there is an Account of the Advice which *Moses* gave the *Israelites*, and the Blessings which he prophetically gave the several Tribes, when he was departing from them; and which, as Lord *Bolingbroke* remarks, contain an Account of the Death and Sepulchre of *Moses*, together with a kind of funeral Panegyric, which, it is more than probable, *Joshua* might have added to the End of the Works of *Moses*; at the same Time that he wrote the Memorials of his own Transactions, and inserted them in the Book of the Law of GOD [7]; so that the Book of the Law of GOD, at the Time of the Death of *Joshua*, consisted of the Books of *Moses* and of *Joshua*.

It is certain, that *Philo* and *Josephus*, as his Lordship observes [8], do both express themselves, as if the whole Book of *Deuteronomy* was finished by *Moses*. The Words of *Philo* are to this Effect: "That *Moses*, when
 " he was just going to depart from them, did speak of
 " himself in a prophetic Manner, as if he was actu-
 " ally dead; and, before his Death, spoke of himself
 " as being dead and buried, and that no one knew
 " where it was [9]." And *Josephus* says, that *Moses* was, in reality, taken from the Sight of the *Israelites* by a Cloud, and disappeared, *although he wrote in the holy Books that he died* [1]. Which, however, is not quite so absurd as the noble Viscount has represented it: Because they suppose it to be done by the Spirit of Prophecy. But, besides the Impropriety of assigning supernatural Causes, where natural Causes will be as effectual; the funeral Panegyric, taken notice of by Lord *Bolingbroke*, furnishes us with a Reason against supposing, that the two last Chapters of

[7] Josh. xxiv, xxv, xxvi.

[8] Let. iii. p. 102.

[9] Philo, lib. iii. de Vita Mosis. [1] Jos. Antiq. lib. iv. c. 8.

Deuteronomy were written by *Moses*; for in the first Verse *Moses* is called a *Man of GOD*, which is far from the Style in which he used to speak of himself. He is likewise, Ver. 5, spoken of, as being *KING* in *Jeshurun*, or *Israel*, which is a Title that he never gave to himself, any more than he did the former one.

And here I cannot help taking Notice, that it may possibly be objected, from this last Expression, as if this Addition could not have been made to the Works of *Moses*, until some Time after the Title of *King* had been given to the Rulers in *Israel*; and therefore must be deferred to the Times of *Saul* at least. But in Answer to this, it should be observed, that although the Title of *King* was not a regular and constant Title given to the chief Rulers in *Israel* until the Time of *Saul*; yet that it was a Title sometimes accidentally given them. Thus, in the Book of *Genesis*, *Moses*, speaking of the Princes, or Commanders, or *Dukes* of the House of *Esau*, as he generally calls them, says, *These are the KINGS that reigned in the Land of Edom, before there reigned any KING over the Children of Israel* [2]. Because, before the Time of *Moses*, and *Joshua*, and the *Judges*, the Children of *Israel* had no one Commander in Chief; but each Tribe was under its own Head, and those Heads were in Servitude to the *Egyptian* Task-masters; but as soon as they had one Commander in Chief, then the Title of *King* was sometimes applied to that Commander, as in the Case before us; which Title, though I do not apprehend that *Moses* would have given to himself, yet might have been given to him by his Successor *Joshua*, as it manifestly was to some of those *Judges*, who were the Successors of *Joshua*. For that those Commanders in Chief of the Armies of *Israel*, who were sometimes

[2] Gen. xxxvi. 31.

called *Judges*, were also called *Kings*, is manifest from hence : Because, in several of the Transactions which are mentioned in the Book of *Judges*, as coming to pass during the *Interregnum* of the *Judges*; the Author of that Book, speaking of those Transactions, says, in more Places than one, that they came to pass *when there was no King in Israel* [3]. That is, during the *Interregnum* between the Reign of the *Judges*, when there was no one particular *Judge* appointed to reign over the whole twelve Tribes, as frequently happened.

Having thus discovered who were the Authors of of these Books of *Moses* and *Joshua*, and when, and by whom they were composed, we shall proceed to consider, “*how they were afterwards preserved or renewed.*” And, upon Enquiry, it will be found, that we shall be able to trace them in the Hands of the *Jews*, whose municipal Laws they were, from their first Publication to the present Time. For as these were the Laws by which *Plea and Plea*, and *all Matters of Controversy*, Deut xvii. 8. between Man and Man, were to be regulated; and by which the Civil, as well as the Ecclesiastical State of the *Jews* was to be governed; it is utterly impossible, that this State could have subsisted any Length of Time without them. And, for this Reason, among others, it was, that the Priests were commanded to *teach the Children of Israel all the Statutes, which the LORD had spoken unto them by the Hand of Moses*: And that whoever was King in *Israel* was particularly ordered to keep a Copy of the Law by him, besides that which was laid up in the Sanctuary. For, says God to *Moses*, *When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a King over me, like as all the Nations that are about me; — It shall be when he sitteth on the Throne of his Kingdom,*

[3] Judges xvii. 6. xviii. 1. xix. 1. xxi. 25.

that he shall write him a Copy of this Law in a Book, out of that which is before the Priests and the Levites. And accordingly we find, that it was a Part of the Ceremony practised at the Coronation of the Kings of *Israel*, for the High-priest to give them a Copy of the *Testimony* into their Hands, at the same Time that he put the Crown upon their Head [3].

And in order the better to enable them to do this, the *Israelites*, during their long Leisure in the Wilderness of *Kadesh*, for near forty Years together, seem, in all Probability, to have been employed in amusing themselves with learning to write and read; and probably were the Authors of those numerous Writings [4], which still remain engraved on the hard Rocks in that Wilderness, in Characters at present unknown; but which are in such infinite Quantities, as to give the Denomination of the Mountains of *Mokatab*, or the written Mountains, to that Part of the Promontory. And indeed the prodigious Numbers that there are of those Writings, in a Place where there is neither Water nor Food to be gotten, cannot be accounted for in any other Manner, than as being done by the Operation of Multitudes of Persons, who were furnished both by Food and Water from Heaven.

After which, when the *Israelites* were come into the Plains of *Moab*, and were going into the Land of *Canaan*, *Moses* commanded them to keep these Words, which he had declared unto them, in their Hearts, and to teach them diligently unto their Children, and to write them, that is, Portions or Sentences out of them, on the Posts of their Houses, and on their Gates, &c. [5]. Then they were further ordered, as

[3] Lev. x. 11. Deut. xvii. 18. 2 Kings xi. 12.

[4] There is a particular Account of these Writings in an original Journal to Mount *Sinai*, now in my Possession; a Translation of which is printed at *London*, in a Letter from the Bishop of *Clogher* to the Society of Antiquaries.

[5] Deut. vi. 9. xi. 20.

soon as they came into the Land of *Canaan*, to take great Stones, and set them upon Mount *Ebal*, and to plaister them with Plaister, and to write on them the Words of the Law [6]. In which two last mentioned Cases, although the Directions given, may be supposed to extend only to the Laws of the two Tables; yet, in other Cases, it is manifest, that the whole Law of *Moses* was intended to be made public; as for Example, when the Priests, the Sons of *Aaron*, are commanded *to teach the Children of Israel*, all the Statutes which the LORD had spoken unto them by the Hand of *Moses* [7]. This Command certainly extends to all those Statutes, as well civil as religious, which it was not only proper, but, in their Circumstances absolutely necessary for them to be acquainted with. And as the Instructions, which related to the Sacrifices of Atonement, which every particular Person was obliged to offer, for their Purification, or for the Forgiveness of their Sins; or which related to the Conduct between Man and Wife, or between Father and Son, or between Man and Man, are irregularly interspersed through all the Books of *Moses*, as the Occasions on which they were ordered gave Rise to them; therefore it was necessary that the Priests, who were to instruct the People, should have Copies of the whole Law; which Copies, though we may not suppose to be very numerous, one at least ought to have been lodged, if not in every City, yet in every Head City of each Tribe. And besides all this, *Moses* ordered, that, at the End of every seven Years, in the Solemnity of the Year of Release, in the Feast of Tabernacles, the Priests should read these Laws before all *Israel* in their Hearing [8]: That the People, as well as the Priests, should be ac-

[6] Deut. xxvii. 34.

[7] Levit. x. 11.

[8] Deut. xxxi. 9, 11.

quainted with the Tenor of those Laws, by which they were to regulate their Conduct.

And as these Laws of *Moses* were the Rule by which the Elders and Judges of the several Cities were to distribute Justice between Man and Man [9]; therefore it was necessary, that the Lay-Magistrates should have Copies of these Laws, as well as the Priests, in order to be able to regulate their Administration thereby. And as the supreme Court of Judicature, for the whole Kingdom of *Israel*, came at length to be fixed in *Jerusalem*, where every Dispute, either between Party and Party, or between City and City, was finally to be determined [9]; there it was undoubtedly necessary, that one Copy of the Law, at least, ought constantly to have been preserved. And that, not the one which was lodged in the Ark in the Holy of Holies; but one that could be daily applied to as Occasion required. For as the High-Priest could go into the Holy of Holies but once a Year, the Copy there lodged would be useless in general; and as it could only be consulted and referred to on extraordinary Occasions, would be insufficient for the common Purposes of Life.

And therefore it is manifest, that, in the Times of King of *David*, when this Court was first erected at *Jerusalem*, the great Officers of the *Sanhedrim* must have had the Books of the Law before them, whereby to regulate their Conduct. And in the early Times of *Solomon*, when the Temple was first built, and dedicated to God, and the numerous Ceremonies which attended the Practice of Sacrifices were then regulated, it is certain, that the officiating Priests must have had the Books of the Law daily before their Eyes. Which a constant Practice might, in a little Time, render easy and habitual; and, in Process of Time, might render them careless and negligent in

[8] Deut. xix. 12. xxi. 6, 20. xxii. 17. xxv. 8.

[9] Ibid. xvii. 9, 11. xix. 17.

the Performance of. And accordingly we find, towards the latter End of the Reign of *Solomon*, when his Heart grew corrupt, and was turned from the God of *Israel*, and he kept not that which the LORD commanded; but burnt Incense, and sacrificed to strange Gods, that the Laws of *Moses* were not then as strictly observed, either by King, Priests, or People, as they ought to have been.

And though it is mentioned, that, in the Days of King *Asa*, who came to the Throne of *Judah* about twenty Years after the Death of *Solomon*, for a long Season, *Israel* had been without the true God, and without a teaching Priest, and without Law [1]; does not this manifestly shew, that formerly there had been teaching Priests among the People, who, according to the Directions given by *Moses*, had taught the Children of *Israel* all the Statutes which the LORD had spoken unto them, by the Hand of *Moses*, and who must therefore have had Copies of this Law in their Custody, in order to be able also to read them all over, once every seven Years, at the Feast of Tabernacles, before all *Israel* in their Hearing?

And although it is mentioned, that at this Time, in the Days of *Asa*, they were without Law, yet it is manifest, that the Books of the Law of *Moses* were not lost, notwithstanding the Precepts contained in them had not been duly observed; as appears from the Conduct of his Son and Successor *Jehosaphat*, who, in the third Year of his Reign, sent to his Princes to teach in the Cities of *Judah*; and with them he sent Levites and Priests, and they taught in *Judah*, and HAD THE BOOK OF THE LAW OF THE LORD with them, and went about throughout all the Cities of *Judah*, and taught the People [2].

And indeed, though it is natural to imagine, that, in a Succession of Princes, of which some were good,

[1] 2 Chron. xv. 3.

[2] Ibid. xvii. 7, 9.

and some bad, the Laws prescribed in the Book of *Moses*, would be sometimes more punctually observed, and sometimes less; yet it is not to be supposed, that while this court of the *Sanhedrim* was permitted to sit in *Jerusalem*, in which the civil property of the Subject was regulated according to the Laws of *Moses*, they could ever be without one Copy of the Law at least. And accordingly we find in the Days of good *Hezekiah*, King of *Judah*, that when God put it into the Heart of the King, to do that which is right in the Sight of the LORD; and to repair and cleanse the Temple, and to sanctify a-new *all those Vessels which King Abaz in his Reign did cast away, in his Transgression, &c.* [3] the Sin-Offering, and the Sacrifices that were then offered upon this Occasion, were exactly conformable to the Rules prescribed by *Moses* in the Book of *Leviticus*; whence it is manifest they then had by them a Copy of that Book to refer to.

AND when they were cleansing and sanctifying the Temple, it is further observed; that *Hezekiah the King and the Princes, commanded the Levites to sing Praises unto the LORD, with the Words of David, and Asaph the Seer* [4]. Whence it appears, that the Psalms of *David* and *Asaph* were at this Time held in great Repute, and were made use of in Divine Service; but whether as a Part of the Canon of Scripture, cannot be inferred from hence. However, as the Prophet *Isaiah* flourished in the Reign of *Hezekiah*, this accounts for the many Allusions there are in the Prophecies of that Prophet, to the Psalms of *David*; but shews at the same Time, that the Prophecies of *Isaiah* could not then have been inserted into the Canon of Scripture, nor indeed, in all Probability, until some Time after his Death, when the fulfilling of his Prophecies had thoroughly established his Character as a Prophet.

[3] 2 Chron. xxix. 19, &c.

[4] Ibid, 30.

IT is further also observed of *Hezekiah*, that he sent to all *Israel* and *Judah*, and wrote Letters to *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, to keep the Passover unto the LORD of *Israel*; the Reason given for which is, *Because they had not done it of a long Time, in such Sort as it was written* [5]. Whence it is manifest, that the King had then in his Custody a written Copy of the Law of *Moses*, whereby to rectify the Manner of their keeping the Passover. And accordingly it is still more fully declared that *the Priests and the Levites were ashamed, and sanctified themselves, and brought in the Burnt-Offerings into the House of the Lord: And they stood in their Place after their Manner, ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF Moses, THE MAN OF GOD* [6]. Whence it is apparent, that the Priests and Levites had then a Copy of the Law of *Moses* before them, whereby to regulate *the Manner* of their Standing, and of offering up their Burnt-Offerings, according to that Law.

HOWEVER, when *Manasseh*, who was the Son and Successor of *Hezekiah*, was King, although he did Evil in the Sight of the LORD, after the Abomination of the Heathen, and built Altars for all the Host of Heaven, in the two Courts of the House of the LORD [7]; and although his Son *Amon* did also that which was Evil in the Sight of the LORD, as his Father *Manasseh* did [8]; yet even then was not the Book of the Law of *Moses* lost: For in the Reign of *Josiah*, the Son of *Amon*, in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, when he had purged the Land and the Temple, of the false Gods, he sent *Shaphan* the Scribe, and *Maaseiah* the Governor of the City, and *Joab* the Recorder, to repair the House of the LORD. And *Hilkiab the High Priest* found a Book of the Law of the LORD, given by *Moses*, in the House of the LORD. And *Hilkiab* delivered the Book to *Shaphan*, and *Shaphan* carried the Book to the

[5] 2 Chron. xxx. 5.

[6] 1 Chron. xxx. 15.

[7] 2 Kings xxi. 1, &c.

[8] 2 Kings xxi. 19.

King. And the King sent and gathered together all the Elders of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, and the King went up into the House of the LORD, and all the Men of *Judah* and the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and the Priests and the Levites, and all the People, great and small; *and he read in their Ears all the Words of the Book of the Covenant, that was found in the House of the LORD* [9]. And it is further observed, that *all his Days, they departed not from following the GOD of their Fathers.*

Now, from the End of the Reign of *Josiah*, to the *Babylonish* Captivity, when *Jechoniah* [1] was carried away Prisoner to *Babylon*, was but about twelve Years, and from thence to the End of the Captivity, was seventy more, when *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, in the first Year of his Reign, after he had subdued all *Persia*, being stirred up by the LORD, made Proclamation throughout his Kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, *Thus saith Cyrus King of Persia, The Lord God of Heaven hath given me all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and he hath charged me to build him an House at Jerusalem. Who is there among you of all his People? His God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the House of the Lord God of Israel, which is in Jerusalem. — And when the seventh Month was come, and the Children of Israel were in the Cities, then stood up Jeshua, the Son of Jozadak, and his Brethren the Priests, and Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, and his Brethren, and builded the Altar of the God of Israel, to offer Burnt-Offerings on it, as written in the Law of Moses the Man of God* [2]. Whence it is manifest, that the *Jews* then had a Copy of this Law in their Possession, which they brought with them back from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem*.

BUT as the Order issued by *Cyrus* for the rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, was not compulsory, but was only a Permission for such to return to *Judea*, as were of themselves inclined; it must be supposed, that many out of

[9] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1—33. [1] Ezek. i. 2. Jer. xxix. 10.

[2] Ezra i. 1. iii. 1, &c.

Age or Infirmary, many out of Indolence or Poverty, and many from other Attachments, would stay behind, at least until they were informed how the Work had succeeded, and that there were Conveniencies prepared for their Reception; so we find accordingly, that Numbers of them staid behind in *Persia*; and, as Adversity is the Mother of Devotion, these were so attached to the Observance of the Laws of *Moses*, that even during their Captivity, and under the Hands of their Enemies, they were zealously strict and rigorous in their Obedience to those Laws, which, when in their own Country, and in Prosperity, they had so often neglected and trampled under Foot; and accordingly we find, in the Reign of *Abasuerus* or *Xerxes*, who came to the Throne of *Persia* about forty-five Years after the Order issued by *Cyrus*, that *Haman* made Use of this Attachment of the *Jews* to their own Laws, as an Accusation against them to the King, saying, that *there is a certain People scattered abroad, and dispersed among the People in all the Provinces of thy Kingdom, and their Laws are diverse from all People, neither keep they the King's Laws* [3]. Whence it is manifest that the remaining *Jews* who staid behind in *Persia*, must also have kept some Copies of the Laws of *Moses* whereby to regulate their Conduct, after the Departure of *Zerubbabel*.

BUT as this Complaint had no Effect, being quashed by the prudent and resolute Conduct of Queen *Esther*; so neither had another that was made, probably much about the same Time, by the *Samaritans* against the *Jews*, who were engaged in rebuilding *Jerusalem*: For they sent, in the Beginning of the Reign of *Abasuerus*, an Accusation against the Inhabitants of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* [4]; which Complaint not having met with Success, they applied again in the Reign of his Successor *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and obtained an Order, to cause the Men to cease, and that the City be not builded. So

[3] *Esther* iii. 8.[4] *Ezra* iv. 6.

it ceased unto the second Year of the Reign of *Darius Nothus*, King of *Persia* [5]. At which Time Application having been made to *Darius*, and the Decree made by *Cyrus* being laid before him, the Elders of the *Jews* were permitted to proceed in their Work, and the House was finished in the sixth Year of *Darius* the King; and the Children of *Israel*, and the Priests and the Levites kept the Dedication of this House of God with Joy; and they set the Priests in their Divisions, and the Levites in their Courses, for the Service of GOD, which is at *Jerusalem*, according to the Writing of the Book of *Moses* [6]. Whence it is manifest, that the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* had then the Writing of the Book of *Moses* in their Possession.

AND, about twenty years after this, in the seventh Year of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* King of *Persia*, *Ezra*, who was a ready Scribe in the Law of *Moses*, which the Lord God of *Israel* had given, obtained a Decree from the King, that all they of the People of *Israel*, and of his Priests and Levites, in the Realm, which were minded of their own free Will to go up to *Jerusalem*, might go along with him. And, says the Decree, forasmuch as thou art sent of the King, and of his seven Counsellors, to enquire concerning *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, according to the Law of thy God which is in thine Hand, &c. [7]. Hence it is manifest, that there were at this Time two Copies of the Law of *Moses*, at least, actually in being, one at *Babylon*, in the Hands of *Ezra*, and another at *Jerusalem*, in the keeping of *Zerubbabel* and his Companions.

IN about twelve Years after which Migration by *Ezra*, *Nehemiah* [8], who was Cup-bearer to *Artaxerxes*, and was, in the twentieth Year of his Reign, made *Tirshatha* [9], or Governor of *Jerusalem*; being come

[5] *Ezra* iv. 7---24.

[6] *Ibid.* v. 1, &c. vi. 18.

[7] *Ibid.* vii. 1---14.

[8] *Nehem.* i. 11.. ii. 1.

[9] *Ibid.* viii. 9.

to *Jerusalem*, he, with *Ezra* the Scribe, had the Book of the Law of *Moses* publickly read and expounded unto the People. And on the twenty-fourth Day of the Month, when the Reading of the whole Book of the Law had been finished, the Children of *Israel* were assembled with Fasting, and the Levites preached unto them; and what is remarkable is this, that in the Sermon, which is recorded, as being made upon this Occasion, there are References to the Book of *Genesis*; for it mentions the Creation of the World by God; the Vocation of *Abraham* from *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, and the Covenant that was made with him to give him the Land of the *Canaanites*, &c. [1]. Whence it is manifest, that, at that Time, the Book of *Genesis* was considered as a Part of the Book of the Law of *Moses*. So that, I think it very reasonable to suppose, that the Book, which at that Time went under the Denomination of the Book of the Law of *Moses*, or the Book of the Law of God, comprehended not only the Law, but all the Books of *Moses*, as well as the Book of *Joshua*, the Transactions in which, *Joshua* himself declares, he had written in the Book of the Law of God [2].

BUT as to the rest of the Books of the Old Testament, which are now comprehended in the Canon of the *Jewish* Scriptures, I think the Probability is, that, although they might have been in Esteem, they were not gathered together, and established as a Canon, until about this Time of the Restauration of the *Jewish* Church under the Conduct of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*; for as to the Book of *Judges*, as that is a continued History of the Judges of *Israel*, from the Death of *Joshua* to the Death of *Sampson*; therefore, it must have been composed some Time after that Event; and yet, before the eighth Year of King *David*, when he conquered *Jerusalem* [3]; because the Author of the Book

[1] *Nehem.* ix. 6, 7, 8.[2] *Josh.* xxiv. 25.[3] 2 *Sam.* v. 8. 1 *Chron.* xi. 6.

of Judges says, that, *the Jebusites dwell in Jerusalem to this Day* [4]. And therefore the Probability is, that it was composed by *Samuel*.

The Book of *Ruth* is an History of some Transactions relating to the Family of *David*, written after the Birth of *David*, because that Circumstance is mentioned in it [5]. But as it does not proceed to mention any thing of *David's* personal History, therefore the Presumption is, that it was written not long after his Birth, and probably by *Samuel* on his being sent to anoint *David*, while *David* was yet a Stripling, and before he had done any thing that was remarkable [6].

The Books of *Samuel* are of more uncertain Authority, the first Book of which was, however, probably written by *Samuel*, because he mentions himself as being a Writer of Books [7]; which he may have composed so far, as until it comes towards the Time of his Death; and after that, it may have been continued by his Disciples the Prophets at *Naioth* in *Ramah* [8]; as the Books of *Moses* were by *Joshua*.

The Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, are undoubtedly Collections made out of other Authors, and are not original Histories, but may, to gratify Lord *Bolingbroke*, be called *Extracts of Genealogies, not Genealogies; Extracts of Histories, not Histories* [9]. They bring down the History of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, to the Time of the *Babylonish* Captivity; and therefore could not have been written until after that Event. And, as these Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* refer to each other, and quote one another, it is more than probable, that they were either written by *Ezra* or *Nehemiah* [1], or some Scribes under their Directions, at one and the same Time. Who, I also suppose, to have been the Collectors of all those Prophecies which pass

[4] Judges i. 21.

[6] 1 Sam. xvi. 1, &c.

[8] Ibid. xix. 18, 19, 20.

[1] 2 Mac. ii. 13.

[5] Ruth iv. 7, 22.

[7] 1 Sam. x. 29.

[9] Let. III. p. 102.

under the Names of the several Prophets whose Names they bear, from *Isaiab* to *Malachi*; and which were all written a little before, or during, the Time of the Captivity.

The Book of *Psalms* is a Collection of such *Psalms* of *Moses*, *David*, *Asaph*, and others, as were in Repute among the *Jews* before and at the Time of the *Babylonish* Captivity, which were also, as well as the Books of *Job*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Canticles*, gathered together by *Ezra* and *Nebemiab*, and inserted into the Canon of the *Jewish* Scriptures [2].

Nebemiab was the last *Tirshatha*, or Governor, that was expressly sent by the Kings of *Persia* to preside in *Jerusalem*; for after his Death, *Judea*, being added to the Præfecture of *Syria*, was subjected to the Rulers of that Province; and under them the Administration of all public Affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical, was committed to the High Priest; which made that Office much more coveted than it used to be, and sometimes tempted those to invade it, who were by no Means qualified for that Employment. From which Period of Time we may date the Commencement of the Corruption of the *Jewish* Religion. For the High Priest being now engaged, as a temporal Magistrate, in the Conduct of the Affairs of Government, the Thoughts about Religion gave Way to those of Politics, by which Means many groundless Traditions were suffered to take Root, until, like Weeds in a Garden that is neglected, they encreased and gained Ground to that Degree, before the Time of our Saviour's coming into the World, *as to render the Word of GOD of none Effect* [3].

However, when *Alexander* the Great had defeated *Darius Codomannus* at the Battle of *Iffus*, and, after the Destruction of *Tyre*, was marching towards *Jerusalem*, with an Intent to punish the Disobedience of the *Jews*,

[2] 2 Mac. ii. 13.

[3] Mat. xv. 6.

who had refused to submit to him while *Darius* was alive, *Jaddus* or *Jaddua*, the High Priest, having cloathed himself in his pontifical Habit, and with the Priests also in their proper Habits, and the People in white Garments, he went out of the City to meet the approaching Conqueror. Which had such an Effect on the angry Monarch, that his Resentment was immediately turned into a religious Veneration, and being conducted into *Jerusalem*, he offered Sacrifices to God in the Temple; where *Jaddua* having conducted him, shewed him the Prophecies of *Daniel*, relating to the Overthrow of the *Persian* Empire by a *Græcian* King. Whence it is manifest, that at that Time the Prophecies of *Daniel* were preserved in the Temple, as a Part of the Canon of the holy Scriptures.

But, in Process of Time, that is, in about 161 Years after this, *Antiochus Epiphanes* having, for the Sake of the Riches that were in the Temple of *Jerusalem*, broke his Faith with the *Jews*, and spoiled the Temple, he commanded the *Jews* to forsake the Law, upon Pain of Death; and caused the sacred Books to be torn or burnt, or otherwise prophaned, wherever they were found [4].

Notwithstanding all which it is manifest, that *the Book of the Law* was not even lost at that Time, but was preserved by the Care and Firmness of the Family of the *Maccabees*, who assembled the Children of *Israel* together at *Mapsa* over-against *Jerusalem*; for in *Mapsa* was the Place where they prayed aforesime in *Israel*. Then they fasted that Day, and put on Sackcloth, and cast Ashes upon their Heads, and rent their Cloaths; and laid open the Books of the Law, for the which the Heathens had made diligent Search, that they might paint in them the Likeness of their Idols [5].

And, when *Judas Maccabæus* had, after the Defeat of the Army of *Lyfias*, recovered the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*, he appointed a Day for solemnizing

[4] 1 Maccab. i. 41, &c.

[5] Ibid. iii. 42---48.

a-new the Dedication of the Temple, after the great Prophanations that had been committed in it; *and gathered together all those Things that were lost by Reason of the War which they had* [6]. And this is the true Footing, upon which the Canon of the Scriptures of the Old Testament stands at present.

It is an Observation of Lord *Bolingbroke's*, that “ the Authority on which we receive the Books of “ the New Testament, is so far from being founded “ on the Authority of the Old Testament, that it is “ quite independent on it; the New being proved, “ gives Authority to the Old, but borrows none from “ it; and gives this Authority to the particular Parts “ only [7].” That is, I suppose, to those particular Parts which are quoted and referred to, as being of divine Inspiration. In Submission to which Assertion, I have, to avoid Disputes, proved the Authenticity of the Scriptures of the New Testament *independently* of the Old Testament: And now, I think, I may justly lay Claim to the Concession made in the latter Part of this Quotation; that the New being proved, gives Authority to the Old; but to the particular Parts only.—Be it so.

I must, however, before I proceed, enter my Protest with a *salvo Jure*, to that Part of this Proposition which may be contested, and that is, that the Authenticity of the New Testament is quite independent on the Old, and borrows no Authority from it: Because, I look upon the Old and New Testament to be like the two Sides of an Arch, which mutually aid and support one another. I allow that the first publishing of the Works of a Prophecy, where, as Lord *Bolingbroke* observes, *the Narration is before the Fact* [8], is indeed no Proof of divine Inspiration, although the fulfilling of it is; however, when any Prophecy is once fulfilled,

[6] 2 Mac. ii. 14.

[7] Let. III. p. 94.

[8] Let. II. p. 49.

the Publication and the Completion, mutually enlighten and vindicate the divine Authority of each other. But, as I have already given up this Piece of Advance-ground, I will not now resume it; but shall be content to take whatever his Lordship is pleased to allow. *Quod das accipio.* I shall therefore content myself at present with this Concession, that the Authenticity of the New Testament once proved, gives Authority to those Particulars in the Old which are quoted in it, as being of divine Inspiration. And if so, then the Proof which I have already made of the divine Authority of the New Testament, will sufficiently prove the divine Authority of the Old; because, the whole Canon of the *Jewish* Scriptures, as then established in the *Jewish* Church when *Jesus Christ* was upon Earth, is there appealed to, both in general and in particular. The Books of *Moses*, the *Law*, the *Prophets*, and the *Psalms*, are appealed to by Name[9]. And, indeed, if the *Law*, or the Books of *Moses* alone, had been mentioned, it would have been sufficient to have proved the divine Authority of the *Jewish* Religion, as the rest of the Canon may, if his Lordship pleases, be only considered as so many Commentaries towards the Explanation, or as Exhortations to the Performance of it.

But his Lordship makes a Distinction between the Degrees of Credibility that are to be given to the *Law* and the History in the Books of *Moses*, and says, that it “ would not be hard to shew, upon great Inducements “ of Probability, that the *Law* and the History was far “ from being blended together as they now stand in “ the Pentateuch, even from the Time of *Moses* down “ to that of *Esdra*s or *Ezra* [1].” But, with humble Submission to his Lordship’s great Learning, I think it would be hard to shew it, if his Lordship means in any

[9] Luke xvi. 29. xx. 42. xxiv. 44. John i. 45. Mark xii. 26.
[1] Let. III. p. 99, 100.

material Points, and does not mean that there have been only some Dislocations of Passages, and some Parts that have been mislaid and lost, which are of no great Moment to the whole; which must be acknowledged to have happened to this very ancient Performance, without impeaching the Veracity of what is left.

For let us see the Force of this Objection, when applied to some ancient prophane Author: As for Example, to *Homer*. The first Accounts that we have of his Works, are, that they were collected by *Lycurgus* when he sailed into *Asia*, at least fifty Years after the Death of *Homer*; where he met with the scattered Fragments of them, which before that Time had only been traditionally handed about in detached Pieces, until *Lycurgus* published them entire. Whereas, the Works of *Moses* were collected and published by himself, and deposited in the Sanctuary, for their better Preservation. What excited *Lycurgus*, the *Lacedæmonian* Legislator, to take so much Pains in the collecting of these Works, was not only the Beauty of the Poetry, but the political, as well as religious Sentiments he found interspersed in them, which, by laying before the *Grecians* the evil Effects of Discord in Society, might serve to unite the Minds of that fickle People, and endear them to that Form of Government he was going to establish. And if this was a rational Foundation for the Preservation of the Works of *Homer*, how much more Reason was there for the *Jews* to take Care of the Works of *Moses*, who had already received them as the municipal Law of their Nation, for the Establishment of their civil Property, as well as the Regulation of their religious Observances?

However, after these detached Pieces of *Homer* were brought into *Greece*, they remained in that same unconnected Manner, under several Titles, such as the *Catalogue of the Ships*, the *Death of Dolon*, the *Grotto of Calypso*, &c. until they were reduced into some Order
by

by *Pisistratus* at *Athens*, or, according to *Plato*, by *Hipparchus* the Son of *Pisistratus*, who first divided them into the two different Poems of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Afterwards, *Alexander* the Great, who was a superstitious Admirer of *Homer*, employed *Aristotle* to correct the *Iliad* from all the Errors and Interpolations which had crept into it; in the Revival of which, he himself, together with *Anaxarchus* and *Callisthenes*, is said to have assisted. Which Edition being finished, he laid up the Work in a rich Casket, whence it has since been called *the Edition of the Casket*.

Which Edition, however, not satisfying the Curious, *Zenodotus* of *Ephesus*, Library Keeper to the first *Ptolemy*, undertook another Correction of *Homer*. But this not satisfying *Aristarchus*, (who was Preceptor to *Ptolemy Euergetes*, Son to the former *Ptolemy*) he set about another Edition, which, being executed with great Learning and Judgment, is probably that Edition, which, with some various Readings, is now in the Hands of the Learned.

Let us therefore suppose, that, notwithstanding all this Care, it could be shewed there were still some Dislocations in the present Copy, or some Passages that were dis-united, and some Lines lost, which were not to be retrieved; we should certainly be obliged to the Critick for his Pains; but would this prove, that what remained was not the Work of *Homer*? I apprehend not. But rather, that the uninterrupted Attempts of Criticks to rectify the Text, would prove the direct contrary; and would shew, that what remains belongs truly to the supposed Author.

I have, in my Treatise on the *Pentateuch*, intitled, *The Chronology of the Hebrew Bible vindicated*, &c. shewed, that there are several Passages in the Works of *Moses*, that are dislocated, and others that are lost; and yet there are sufficient Materials remaining to shew, as well from the internal Marks, as the external
Proofs,

Proofs, that what is left was the Work of *Moses*; although the Titles of the Books, any more than those of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, are not now the same that they were originally. For I will allow, that the Books of the *Pentateuch* might not have been distinguished by the same Names when they were originally written, that they are now, no more than they are at present known by the same Names among the *Jews*, and among the *Christians*. The Book of *Deuteronomy*, was originally called by *Moses*, in all human Probability, *The Book of the Wars of the Lord* [2]. It is called by the *Christians*, *Deuteronomy*, or the *Second Law*, because it contains a Recapitulation of the several Laws which *Moses* had before given the *Israelites*; and it is known among the *Jews* by the Title of *Elle Hadebarim*, because those are the Words with which it begins at present. And therefore, although the historical and juridical Parts of the Book of *Moses*, are not now blended in the same exact and precise Order in which they were originally written, this does not prove, that the historical Parts are not to be esteemed the Work of *Moses*, as well as the juridical. Because, by the Expression of *the Law*, the *Jews*, generally understood the five Books of *Moses*, comprehending the historical and prophetic, as well as the juridical Parts of that Performance; and, that it was understood in that Sense by our Saviour and the Evangelists, is manifest, from the Appeals made to it by them: As for Example; when our Saviour says, *The Law prophesied until John* [3], &c. Which Prophecies referred to the historical as well as legal Parts of the Books of *Moses*. And our Saviour expressly appealed to the History of the fiery Bush which appeared to *Moses* on *Mount Sinai*, when he said, *Have ye not read in the Book of Moses, how in the Bush God spake unto him*, &c. [4].

[2] Numb. xxi. 14.
John i. 45. v. 46.

[3] Matt. xi. 15. Luke xvi. 26.
[4] Mark xii. 26.

The Authority, therefore, of the historical Parts of the Books of *Moses* is confirmed by the same Proofs, and is to be regarded with the same Veneration, as the juridical Parts. And, indeed, it is wonderful to think of the many and various Kinds of Attestations that remain to this Day, of the Truth of the historical Parts of those Books, considering the early Age of the World in which they were written. And, if we were only to consider the concurrent Testimony of prophane Historians, the Attestation they give to it is wonderful; the first of which, that I shall quote, is *Berosus*. Now *Berosus* was a *Chaldaean*, or *Babylonish* Priest, who flourished in the Time of *Alexander* the Great, about the 481st Year of the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*. I have mentioned before, that his Character in *Greece* was so famous, for his Knowledge in Astronomy, that the *Athenians* erected a Statue to him, with a golden Tongue, on Account of the Justness of his Astrological Predictions. This *Berosus* wrote a Chronological History of *Chaldaea*, and the adjacent Countries, from the Flood of *Noah*, whom he mentions by Name, to the Conquest of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*; in which he treated on the Affairs of *Egypt*, and synchronised them with the Affairs of *Assyria*; which makes his Work more useful than any other of the prophane Authors who have written upon this Subject; as we are enabled by it to rectify that excessive Number of Years, which the *Egyptian* Priests have assigned to the Duration of that Monarchy, and the Reign of their Gods. And, indeed, the Agreement between *Moses* and *Berosus*, in their Chronological Accounts, as well as their History, is very remarkable. For *Berosus* makes the Destruction of the *Egyptian* Host under *Pharaoh* in the *Red Sea*, to have happened in the eighth Year of *Aschattades* King of *Assyria*, which, according to his Computation, was in the 794th Year of the Flood of *Noah*; whereas, *Moses* makes the same Event to have happened

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pened in the 798th Year of the Deluge [5]. And, indeed, I cannot but think it something very extraordinary, to find the Chronology of the *Hebrew Bible*, and the Heathen Chronology of *Berosus*, agree so nearly with Regard to the precise Time of this Event, considering that the Time of the Reigns of the Kings of *Babylon*, from which this Calculation is computed, is set down by *Berosus*, and the Lives of the Patriarchs by *Moses*, according to the round Number of Years, without mentioning the odd Months of each Reign or Life; which, in the Space of near 800 Years, may very well be allowed to make a Difference of four Years, between the Calculation of *Berosus*, and the *Mosaic* Computation. I likewise cannot but observe, that the Acknowledgment of this Fact by an Heathen Writer, who says, that he compiled his Book out of the ancient Records of *Chaldea*, although he attributes the drowning of the *Egyptians* to the Power of Art-Magick, is very extraordinary, and adds no small Weight to the Testimony of *Moses*.

But here, I think, I ought to inform your Lordship, that the original Work, which was written by *Berosus* in *Greek*, is now lost; and that that which goes at present under his Name, is only an imperfect Abstract written in *Latin*, which was published towards the latter End of the fifteenth Century, by *Annius*, or the Monk of *Viterbo*, as Lord *Bolingbroke* styles him [6], whose Character for Fidelity not being the best, has given Occasion to some Criticks to object against the Authenticity of this Translation. Because, as they have justly observed, there are several Quotations out of *Berosus*, mentioned both in *Josephus*, *Pliny*, *St. Jerome*, and *Athenæus*, which are not to be found in this Treatise of *Berosus* that was published by *Annius*.

[5] See *The Hebrew Chronology vindicated*, written by the Bishop of *Clogher*, in which this Calculation between *Moses* and *Berosus* is fairly and faithfully carried on and computed.

[6] *Let. III. § 1. p. 82.*

Josephus, for Example, speaking of *Berosus*; says, that
 “ he was a *Chaldean* by Birth, well known to the
 “ Learned by the Publication of his *Chaldean* Books
 “ of Astronomy and Philosophy among the *Greeks*.
 “ This *Berosus*, says he, following the most ancient
 “ Records of that Nation, gives us an History of the
 “ Deluge of Waters that then happened, and of the
 “ Destruction of Mankind by it; and agrees with
 “ *Moses* in the Narration of it. He also gives us an
 “ Account of that Ark, wherein *Noah*, the Origin of
 “ our Race, was preserved, when it was brought to
 “ the highest Part of the *Armenian* Mountains. After
 “ which, he gives a Catalogue of the Posterity of *Noah*,
 “ and adds the Years of their Chronology, and at
 “ length comes down to *Nabopolassar*, who was King
 “ of *Babylon* and the *Chaldeans* [7].” And *St. Jerome* and *Athenæus*, as well as *Josephus*, quote Passages
 out of *Berosus*, as low down as the Reign of *Cyrus* the
 Great: Whereas, our *Berosus* is continued down no
 lower than the Reign of *Acherres* in *Egypt*, and of *As-*
catades in *Assyria*, who were contemporary with the *Ex-*
odus of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*. *Pliny* also, as hath
 been before remarked, quotes *Berosus* for saying, that
 the *Babylonians* had celestial Observations for 480 Years
 backwards from his Time. And *Josephus* [8] has
 two long Quotations out of *Berosus*, giving an Account
 of the Improvements made in *Babylon* by *Nebuchad-*
nezzar, and says besides, that “ *Berosus* complains of
 “ the *Grecian* Writers, for supposing, without any
 “ Foundation, that *Babylon* was built by *Semiramis*,
 “ Queen of *Assyria*; and for asserting that those won-
derful Edifices belonging to it, were her Work-
 “ manship [9].” Whereas, there are no such Pas-
 sages in our present Copy of *Berosus*. But, on the con-

[7] *Joseph. cont. Ap. lib. i. § 19.*[8] *Joseph. Ant. lib. xi. c. 11. cont. Ap. lib. i. § 2.*[9] *Joseph. cont. Ap. lib. i. § 20.*

trary, in the Fragment of *Berosus*, which is come down to our Hands, there is Mention made of *Semiramis*; and the Author says, she greatly enlarged *Babylon*, inso-much, that she almost made a new City of it. But, that Quotation mentioned by *Josephus*, is by no Means difficult to be reconciled with this Passage; for that Quotation must have been towards the latter End of *Berosus*, after he had been speaking of the immense Improvements and Additions made in *Babylon* by *Nebuchadnezzar*; which, indeed, it would be wrong to attribute to *Semiramis*. But, as Mr. *Whiston* [1] very judiciously remarks, the great Improvements which *Nebuchadnezzar* made in the Buildings at *Babylon*, do no way contradict those ancient and authentick Testimonies, which ascribe its first Building to *Nimrod*, and its first Rebuilding to *Semiramis*. These Passages, therefore, quoted by *Josephus*, *Pliny*, &c. were probably in that Part of the History of *Berosus*, which is now lost, wherein the History of *Assyria* was carried down from *Ascadates* to *Cyrus*. For, as far as this Fragment does go, it agrees exactly with the Account given of *Berosus* by *Josephus*, with Regard to the Flood, the Re-peopling of the Earth by *Noah* and his Sons, together with a Chronological Account of those Events. And whereas *Josephus* quotes *Berosus* for saying, when speaking of the Ark, that “it is said there is still some Part
“ of this Ship in *Armenia*, at the Mountain of the
“ *Cordyæans*, and that some People carry off the Pieces
“ of the Bitumen, which they take away, and use
“ chiefly as Amulets, for the averting of Mis-
“ chiefs [2].” This Quotation is to be found, *totidem Verbis*, in our Author. And, what is very remarkable, is, that, as *Josephus* observes, *Berosus* agrees with *Moses* in the Destruction of Mankind by the Flood; so this Fragment agrees exactly with the *Hebrew* Chronology of the Bible, in the Time of the De-

[1] Whiston's *Jos.* in loc.[2] *Jos. Ant. lib. i. c. 3.*

parture of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, and the Destruction of *Pharaoh* and his Host in the *Red Sea*.

And, as I find that this Fragment, in the List of the *Assyrian* Kings, and the Time which is there assigned to the Duration of each particular Reign, agrees exactly with the Succession of the Kings of *Assyria*, and the Length of their Reigns in the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, I cannot, therefore, but look upon this Treatise, as far as it goes, to be a faithful Translation of that Part of *Berosus*, which might have been made by some private Person for his own Use, before the Original was lost; which, at last, fell into the Hands of *Annius* of *Viterbo*, who has since published it[3]. And, altho' I will not take upon me to vindicate the Integrity of *Annius*, with Regard to all his Actions, or every thing that he has published; yet, since this Fragment of *Berosus*, as far as it goes, agrees perfectly with the Account given of the Works of *Berosus* by *Josephus*, and, as *Annius* was undoubtedly a learned and inquisitive Person, and lived at the Conclusion of that Age of Ignorance and Barbarity which had over-run the Face of the *Christian* World in the fifteenth Century [4]; I cannot help thinking it more than probable, that he might have had an Opportunity of meeting with some Books, which have been lost to the World for some Generations. And, although the entire Works of *Berosus* did not come to his Hands, yet, that either he, or Father *George* of *Armenia*, might, in some private Study, have met with this imperfect, but faithful Translation of them.

But, my Lord, I desire you will take Notice, that I lay no more stress on this Evidence of *Berosus*, or of any other Author I shall quote, than barely such as

[3] It is affirmed by *Didymus Rapaligerus Livianus*, an *Italian* Author, That this Fragment of *Berosus* was given to *Annius* at *Genoa*, by Father *George* of *Arminia*, a *Dominican* Friar.

[4] He died on the 13th of *November*, 1502.

the Nature of his Testimony, when duly and critically considered, fairly requires; and that is, of an Hea-
 then Author of Repute in his Time, and unbiaſſed in
 Favour of the *Jewiſh* Religion. Under the ſame Li-
 mitations, I ſhall therefore proceed to produce the
 Teſtimony of *Artapanus*, with Regard to this particu-
 lar Fact of the *Iſraelites* having paſſed the *Red Sea*
 with Safety, under the Conduct of *Mofes*, at the ſame
 Time that *Pharaoh* and his Hoſt were drowned in it:
 Whoſe Words are to this Effect, as they are quoted
 by *Eusebius* [5], for the Original is loſt; that “ the
 “ People of *Memphis* reported, that *Mofes* being well-
 “ ſkilled in the Situation of the Coaſts, and the Ebb-
 “ ing and Flowing of the Tides, took that Oppor-
 “ tunity of carrying the *Iſraelites* over the *Red Sea*;
 “ but that the People of *Heliopolis* relate this Fact
 “ quite otherwiſe, *viz.* That *Mofes* being divinely in-
 “ ſpired, ſtruck the Sea with a Rod, whereupon the
 “ Water gathering in a Heap on either Side, he led
 “ his Forces dry through the Sea: But, that, when
 “ the *Egyptians* attempted to follow them, the Sea re-
 “ turning to its former Courſe, entirely overwhelmed
 “ them.” Whence it appears, that *Artapanus* was
 diligent and inquiſitive enough not to be content with
 common Reports, but that he had perſonally inquired
 about the Truth of this Fact, and the Manner of it,
 from the Inhabitants of the Country where it happen-
 ed. And it is further to be remarked, that the Peo-
 ple of *Heliopolis*, who lived in the very Place where
Mofes, according to the general Opinion of the Learn-
 ed, performed all his Wonders; and whoſe Fellow-
 Citizens were themſelves the Sufferers by this Event,
 ſhould be more likely to know the Truth of this Affair,
 than the Inhabitants of *Memphis*, who lived on the
 other Side of the River *Nile*, and at a conſiderable
 Diſtance from the Scene of Action.

[5] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. c. 27.

And, indeed, the Truth of this Piece of History, as related by *Moses*, is wonderfully confirmed, by the Names which were given to several Parts of this Country, through which the *Israelites* passed in their Departure out of *Egypt*, which having borrowed their Denominations from this Transaction, retain them to this very Day: As for Example; *Moses* says, *And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the People go, that GOD led them not towards the Land of Canaan, thro' the Way of the Land of the Philistines, although that was near; for GOD said, Lest peradventure the People repent when they see War, and they return to Egypt. And GOD led the People ABOUT, by the Way of the Wilderness of the Red Sea. And they took their Journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the Edge of the Wilderness. And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the Children of Israel, that they TURN and encamp before Pihabiroth, between Migdol and the Sea, over-against Baalzephon: Before it shall ye encamp by the Sea; for Pharaoh will say of the Children of Israel, They are entangled in the Land, the Wilderness hath shut them in* [5]. Now, it is very remarkable, in going this round about Way from *Egypt* to *Canaan*, through the Wilderness of *Etham*, or the Wilderness of the *Red Sea*, that there is on the right Hand of the Road, near midway, between *Cairo* and the *Red Sea*, a long narrow Valley, between two rugged Chains of Mountains, to get into which, the Traveller must turn out of the common Road, and which is to this Day called by the Arab Inhabitants of the Country, *Tiab beni Israel*, or the *Road of the Children of Israel* [6]; and when the Traveller comes into this Road, he finds himself pent in on either Hand by impassable Mountains, and fronted at the End of it by the *Red Sea*; so that, in this Situation, well might *Pharaoh* say, *They are entangled in the Land, the Wilderness hath shut them in.* And, what

[5] *Exod.* xiii. 17, &c.[6] *Shaw's Travels*, p. 346.

completely shews, that this was the Place from which the *Israelites* escaped, by passing the *Red Sea*, is, that the Mountain, which borders on the Sea at the End of this Ridge of Mountains, is known to this Day by the Name of *Jibbel At-takab*, or the Mountain of Deliverance; and those Springs of Water which run over-against this Mountain, on the opposite Shore of the Sea, and near which Springs, if this Story be true, it is natural to think the *Israelites* must have landed, is known also to this Day, by the Name of the *Fountains of Moses*. And is it possible to account for all these Names being given to all these Places, in a Country, of which the *Israelites* were never the Masters, if these Matters of Fact, as they are thus related, had never happened?

But although no Heathen Authors, that I can find, except *Berosus* and *Artapanus*, mention the Destruction of *Pharaoh* and his Host in the *Red Sea*; yet several of them take Notice of the Departure of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*. For *Justin* [8], the *Roman* Historian, in particular mentions from *Trogus Pompeius*, that when the *Egyptians* pursued the *Israelites*, who were conducted by *Moses*, they were forced by Tempests to return Home again. Which possibly may be true with Regard to the Rear of the *Egyptian* Army, who might have escaped; and who, to be sure, saw with Horror the tempestuous Overflowings of the Sea, upon *Pharaoh* and his Host. And *Strabo*, an Heathen Author, who flourished in the Time of *Augustus Cæsar*, and concerning whom Lord *Bolingbroke* says to his noble Correspondent, “ I will quote to your Lordship a better Authority than that of *Josephus*; the Authority of one who had no Prejudice to bias him, no particular Cause to defend, nor System of ancient History to establish, and all the Helps as well as Talents necessary to make him a competent Judge.”

[8] Just. lib. xxxvi. c. 1.

Now this same *Strabo* [9], when speaking of *Judea*, says, that “ *Moses*, one of the Priests of *Egypt*, being
 “ displeased with the Condition of that Part of the
 “ Country where he lived, travelled from thence to
 “ *Jerusalem*; whither many who honoured God ac-
 “ companied him, for he affirmed and taught that the
 “ Sentiments of the *Egyptians* on this Subject were er-
 “ roneous, who resembled God to the Images of wild
 “ and tame Beasts; as were also the Sentiments of
 “ both the *Libyans* and *Grecians*, who represented God
 “ by the Image of a Man. Affirming that alone to
 “ be God, which contains us and all this terraqueous
 “ Globe; which we call Heaven, and the World, and
 “ Nature.” And *Tacitus*, who is Lord *Bolingbroke’s*
favourite Author [1], in the fifth Book of his History,
 where he is writing expressly concerning the Origin of
 the *Jews*, says, some Authors tell us, that “ in the
 “ Reign of *Isis*, a Multitude of *Jews* left *Egypt*, and
 “ were conducted into a neighbouring Country, under
 “ the Command of *Hierosolymus* and *Judeus*. — But,
 “ says he, in one Account Numbers of Writers concur,
 “ That when *Egypt* was over-run with a pestilential
 “ Disease, contaminating living Bodies, and very foul
 “ to behold, *Boccharis* the King, applying for a Re-
 “ medy to the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, was ordered
 “ to purge his Kingdom, and to remove, into another
 “ Country, that Generation of Men, so detested by
 “ the Deities. Hence, when they were all searched
 “ out, and brought together, and the Multitude were
 “ carried into the immense Deserts, and there aban-
 “ doned; whilst all continued waiting under Asto-
 “ nishment and Despair; *Moses*, one of these Exiles,
 “ exhorted them to entertain no Hopes of Relief from
 “ Gods or Men, since both by Gods and Men they
 “ had been forsaken; but to trust in himself as

[9] Boling. p. 60, 61. Strab. Geo. l. xvi. p. 760.

[1] Let. V. p. 161.

“ in a Leader sent from Heaven, and by whose Aid
 “ they should vanquish their present Misery and Distress. They assented, and utterly ignorant of
 “ whatever was to befall them, began to journey on
 “ at Random. But nothing aggrieved them so sorely
 “ as Want of Water: But when they were lying
 “ scattered over the Plains, ready to perish, a Herd
 “ of wild Asses, leaving their Pasture, climbed up a
 “ rocky Mountain, covered with a thick Wood.
 “ *Moses* followed them up, forming a Conjecture from
 “ the singular Verdure of the Herbage, and there discovered some large Springs. This proved their Solace and Relief; and travelling for six Days without
 “ Intermission, on the seventh Day they gained a Settlement, by exterminating the Inhabitants. There
 “ they raised their City; there founded and dedicated
 “ their Temple.”

Here then let us rest a while, after this long Quotation, and give me Leave to ask your Lordship, Whether it is possible for the *Jews* to expect from the *Heathens* a stronger Confirmation of the Truth of their History? For is it not here allowed, that their Leader's Name was *Moses*? that he pretended to a divine Commission; and that when they were in Distress for Water, he, by his Prudence (either natural or supernatural) relieved them; and that they rested on the seventh Day? Had these Authors spoke more favourably of these Facts, they might have been suspected for being *Jews*, or for having copied *Moses*, as Lord *Bolingbroke* expresses it [2], and for borrowing their History out of the Bible; which would greatly have invalidated the Force of their Testimony. But when an Author whose Judgments, according to Lord *Bolingbroke*, seldom deviate from Truth [3], declares this to be the concurrent Testimony of Numbers of Writers, concerning Matters of Fact, which he was particularly engaged

[2] Let. III. p. 90.

[3] Let. II. p. 39.

in the Enquiry after, in my humble Opinion a stronger Evidence cannot be desired.

And now, my Lord, that I am upon this Subject, I hope you will indulge me in permitting me to go on with *Tacitus*, who says further, that “*Moses*, to insure the Subjection of this Nation to himself for ever, established religious Ordinances altogether new, and opposite to those of all other Men and Countries. Whatever we esteem holy is with them profane.---They refrain from feeding on Swine, in Memory of their former Calamity; for that they had once been infected and defiled with the same leprous Tumours and Eruptions, to which that Animal is subject.---It is said, that they choose to rest every seventh Day, because then they ended their Labours. Afterwards, through the Growth and Allurements of Laziness, every seventh Year was devoted to Sloth.”

And pray, my Lord, does not this put you in Mind of what I mentioned to you in one of my former Letters, that the Institution of the *Jewish Sabbath*, was appointed not so much to remind them of the Creation of the World, as of their Deliverance from the *Egyptian Bondage*, and was therefore ordered to be observed on every seventh Day from that on which they first began their Departure out of *Egypt*? For, says *Moses* unto them, *But the seventh Day is the Sabbath of the LORD thy GOD; in it thou shalt do no Work-----And remember, that thou wast a Servant in the Land of Egypt, and that the LORD thy GOD brought thee out thence, thro’ a mighty Hand, and by a stretched-out Arm; therefore the LORD thy GOD commanded thee to keep the Sabbath* [4].

But, says *Tacitus*, “These Ceremonies, in whatever Way introduced, are by their Antiquity maintained.---They instituted Circumcision, on purpose to be distinguished by a particular Mark.---They

[4] Deut. v. 14, 15.

“choose

“ choose to interr their Dead, rather than to burn
 “ them, according to the Usage of the *Egyptians* ;
 “ with whom they concur in their Notions of an in-
 “ fernal World; but far different is their Persuasion
 “ about Things celestial. The *Egyptians* offer divine
 “ Worship to several brute Animals, to Images and
 “ the Works of Art : The *Jews* know but one Deity,
 “ to be conceived and adored by the Mind only. For
 “ prophane and unhallowed they hold all such as, out
 “ of perishing and mortal Materials, use to fashion
 “ their Gods after the Likeness of Men. They hold
 “ that the divine Being eternal and supreme, is inca-
 “ pable of all Change, incapable of ever ending. In
 “ their Cities, therefore, no Images are seen, so far
 “ are they from allowing such in their Temples.”

Tacitus then proceeds to describe the Country of
Judæa, and to bring down the History of the *Jews* to
 his own Times. But what I have quoted out of him,
 seems to me to be sufficient to shew the concurrent
 Testimony of a Number of Heathen Writers, with
 the History of the *Jews*, as delivered in the Books of
Moses. To which I shall only add a few Remarks on
 that Observation, which is here mentioned by *Tacitus*,
 that *these Ceremonies, in whatever Way introduced, are by*
their Antiquity maintained ; there not being in the Na-
 ture of Things, a stronger Proof of the Truth of any
 ancient Matter of Fact, than the continued and unin-
 terrupted Practice of some ceremonial or ritual Ob-
 servance, that was originally instituted as a Memorial
 of that Matter of Fact. And of Consequence it will
 follow, that the continued Observation of the *Sabbath*,
 of the *Passover*, of the *Feasts of Tents*, &c. among the
Jews, is a living Proof that those Matters of Fact, in
 Memory of which they were instituted, had a real
 Existence some Time or other. And as *Tacitus* has
 mentioned that of *Circumcision*, there is something so
 remarkable in it, that I cannot help taking Notice of
 it. For, he says, it was instituted in order to preserve
 the

the *Jews* as a peculiar People, in being distinguished by a particular Mark. And *Moses* says not only the same Thing, but also, that God at the same Time that he appointed the Ordinance of Circumcision, commanded *Abraham* to change his Name from *Abram*, which signifies *Venerable Father*, to *Abraham*, which signifies *the Venerable Father of a Multitude*; saying, *For a Father of many Nations have I made thee. And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make Nations of thee, and Kings shall come out of thee* [5].

And I defy the World to produce such another Instance. It is now near four Thousand Years ago, since a Prophecy was published, concerning an old Man of an Hundred Years of Age, that he should be exceedingly fruitful, and that Nations should come out of him; on which Account, he was ordered to circumcise himself and his Family, that by this Particularity, they might be distinguished from the rest of Mankind. And what is become of this Prophecy? How was the Event answered? Why! from that Day to this in a miraculous Manner. For, in less than five Hundred Years afterwards, one Branch of the Family alone, amounted to the Number of six hundred thousand Men, besides Women and Children [6]. And if we were to compute the Number of *Jews* and *Mahometans* which are now upon the Face of this Earth (for these last are the Descendants from *Abraham* by *Ishmael*, and continue to circumcise themselves as well as the *Jews*, who are his Descendants by his Son *Isaac*) I do not know whether we should be much mistaken, if we said that they amounted to one tenth Part of all Mankind. But sure I am, that there is no such other Instance in the whole World, and that this may fairly be looked upon as a standing and living Miracle, appointed and continued by Almighty God, among other wise Reasons, as a Proof of the divine Inspi-

[5] Gen. xvii. 5, &c.

[6] Exod. xii. 37.

ration of that History, in which this Prophecy is recorded.

I shall add one Attestation more, to the Truth of the *Mosaical* History: *Moses* informs us in the Book of *Exodus*, that in the Journeying of the Children of *Israel* from *Egypt* to Mount *Sinai*, they pitched in *Rephidim*; and there was no Water for the People to drink. And the People thirsted there for Water; and the People murmured against *Moses*. And *Moses* cried unto the LORD. And the LORD said unto *Moses*, Go on before the People, and take with thee of the Elders of *Israel*. Behold I will stand before thee there upon the Rock in *Horeb*; and thou shalt smite the Rock, and there shall come Water out of it, that the People may drink. And *Moses* did so in the Sight of the Elders of *Israel* [7].

And now what is become of this Stone? Hear, O ye Heavens, and give Ear, O Earth! It is still in being, still visible to the Eye, with the infallible Marks of this Miracle inscribed on every Side of it. And that Infidelity may no longer doubt of it, I shall here literally copy the Description that is given of it, by the learned Dr. *Shaw*, in his Travels to Mount *Sinai*. Where, after describing several Parts of Mount *Horeb*, he says, “ After we had descended, with no small
“ Difficulty, down the western Side of this Moun-
“ tain, we came into the other Plain that is formed
“ by it, which is *Rephidim*, *Exod.* xvii. 1. Here we
“ still see that extraordinary Antiquity, the Rock of
“ *Meribah*, *Exod.* xvii. 6. which hath continued
“ down to this Day, without the least Injury from
“ Time or Accidents. It is a Block of Granite Mar-
“ ble, about six Yards square, lying tottering as it
“ were, and loose, in the Middle of the Valley, and
“ seems to have formerly belonged to Mount *Sinai*
“ [8], which hangs in a Variety of Precipices all
“ over this Plain. The Waters which gushed out, and

[7] *Exod.* xvii. 1.

[8] The Reader should know that Mount *Sinai* is a Part of Mount *Horeb*.

“ *the Stream* which *floweth withal*, Psal. vii. 8, 21,
 “ have hollowed, across one Corner of this Rock, a
 “ Channel about two Inches deep, and twenty wide,
 “ appearing to be incruusted all over, like the Inside
 “ of a Tea-kettle, that hath been long in Use. Be-
 “ sides several mossy Productions, that are still pre-
 “ served by the Dew, we see all over this Channel, a
 “ great Number of *Holes*, some of them four or five
 “ Inches deep, and one or two in Diameter, the live-
 “ ly and demonstrative Tokens of their having been
 “ formerly so many Fountains. It likewise may be
 “ further observed, that Art or Chance could by no
 “ Means be concerned in the Contrivance. For
 “ every Circumstance points out a Miracle, and, in
 “ the same Manner with the Rent in the Rock of
 “ Mount *Calvary* at *Jerusalem*, never fails to produce
 “ a religious Surprize in all that see it [9].” Which
 Account is confirmed by Dr. *Pocock*, who observed
 further, that within every one of the afore-mentioned
Holes, there is an horizontal Crack, and in some, al-
 so, a Crack perpendicularly down; which, consider-
 ing the great Hardness of Granite, makes it impossi-
 ble for these Appearances to have been the Work of
 a Tool [1].

Again, *Moses* says in the Book of *Numbers*, that,
 about thirty Years after this, *the Children of Israel* abode
 in *Kadesh*, and *Miriam* died there, and was buried there.
And there was no Water for the Congregation. And they
gathered themselves together, against Moses and against
Aaron. And Moses and Aaron went from the Presence of
the Assembly, unto the Door of the Tabernacle of the Con-
gregation, and they fell upon their Faces: And the Glory
of the LORD appeared unto them. And the LORD spake
unto Moses, saying, Take the Rod, and gather thou the
Assembly together, thou and Aaron thy Brother, and speak
ye unto the Rock before their Eyes, and it shall give forth
his Water, and thou shalt bring forth to them Water out

[9] Shaw's Trav. p. 352. [1] Pocock's Trav. p. 148.

of the Rock. And Moses took the Rod.---And Moses lift up his Hand, and with his Rod he smote the Rock twice ; and the Waters came out abundantly, and the Congregation drank, and their Beasts also [2].

Which Rock is also in being, as well as the other, as appears from an original Manuscript Journal [3], now in my own Possession, which was written by the Prefetto of Egypt, from the Convent *de propaganda fide*, A. D. 1722, giving an Account of his Travels from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, and back again. Wherein, after speaking of the afore-mentioned Rock, in the Valley of *Rephidim*, he says, in his Journey from Mount Sinai towards *Tor*, “ we passed by a “ large Rock on our left Hand, in which, as in that “ other Rock which *Moses* struck with his Rod, appear, from the Bottom to the Top, Openings where “ Water gushed out.” And now, what can Scepticism say, to these two, if not living, yet, standing Miracles in Attestation of the Truth of the *Mosaical* History? Which, in my humble Opinion, cannot possibly be considered in any other Light, than as two Tables of Testimony, written in Stone by the Finger of God.

And now, my Lord, having thus vindicated the Authenticity of the Scriptures of the New Testament, and proved the Veracity of the *Mosaical* History, from the concurrent Testimony of *Heathen* Writers, and the additional Attestation of living and of standing Miracles, I shall, as soon as I have Leisure, revise those Letters which I did myself the Honour of writing to your Lordship formerly, in Vindication of the *Mosaical* Account of the Creation and Deluge, and shall give them to the World, as a proper Sequel to this Treatise.

[2] Numb. xx. 1—11.

[3] See a Translation of this Journal, in a Letter to the Society of Antiquaries at London, lately published, as before-mentioned, p. 189.

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
HISTORIES
OF THE
OLD and NEW TESTAMENT.
PART II.

Wherein the Mosaical HISTORY of the CREATION and DELUGE is philosophically explained; the ERRORS in the present THEORY of the TIDES detected and rectified:

Together with some REMARKS on the
PLURALITY of WORLDS.

In a SERIES of LETTERS to a
YOUNG NOBLEMAN.

Adorned with several Explanatory CUTS.

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A
VINDICATION
OF THE
HISTORIES
OF THE
OLD and NEW TESTAMENT.

PART II.

LETTER I.

MY LORD,

THE complying with your Commands, in order fully to account for those Petrifications of the Sea Shells, in the Contemplation of which you were affected with so much Surprise and Pleasure, is likely to be attended with much more Trouble, both to yourself and me, than I expected, when I first promised to give you some Account of them in Writing. For, as the Opinion, which I think most probable, hath been much controverted, even so much as to bring the Truth of the *Mosaical* Account, both with regard to the Creation of the World, and the Deluge of *Noah*, into Question, the thorough Pursuit of this Subject will, I find, necessarily lead me, not only into the Consideration of that Deluge, but

of the first Formation of this Earth, of which we are the Inhabitants.

For, as it hath been observed so long ago as the Time of *Ovid*, that *procul a pelago conchæ jacuere marinae*; and is at this Day universally granted, that those Parts of this habitable World, which are most distant from the Sea, abound with Numbers of the Shells of Fish, which must have been originally the Offspring of the Sea; some of which are found turned into Stone, while others have been preserved in their natural State by the encircling Earth; and this not only on, or near, the Surface of the Ground, but in the very Bowels of the Earth, and the Heart of Quarries; the accounting for this will necessarily lead me into the deep Researches of Natural Philosophy, as well as of Divinity.

But, as these are Subjects, in the Contemplation of which, as well from a Sense of Duty, as led thereto by the Bent of my own natural Inclination, I have spent much Time; and as this now before us, in particular, is a Subject that I never met with treated to my Satisfaction, I shall enter upon the Discussion of it; and shall endeavour to digest those Thoughts into some Order, which have hitherto only been started occasionally, and have floated irregularly on the Surface of my Mind.

And, that I may proceed with some Regularity, I shall, in Imitation of Monsieur *Buffon*, first consider the Sentiments of those, who, before me, have undertaken this Enquiry; that by observing the Rocks upon which they have split, I may be the better able to avoid their Errors, and direct my own Course the more surely to the wish'd for Port.

The principal Persons, who have written upon this Subject, are Doctor *Burnet*, Doctor *Woodward*, Mr. *Whiston*, Monsieur *Buffon*, and Monsieur *le Cat*.

As Doctor *Burnet* was the first of those that entered into this Enquiry, I shall consider his Performance in the first Place. The Particularity of his System consisteth in this, that he supposed the Substance of this terraqueous Globe to have been formed at the Creation, by some heavy Materials gathering towards the Center of this World, which were surrounded by an entire Fluid of Water, over which a Scum of oily Particles having floated on the Surface, the terrestrial Parts, which were fit for Vegetation, and the Nurture of Animals, and which had, in the unsettled Period of the *Chaos*, floated in the Air, when they began to descend, being entangled in the adhesive Particles of Oil, formed by Degrees that Crust, of which the Earth we now inhabit was composed. So that he supposeth this World to have been something like an Egg, with its Yolk in the Center, surrounded by a watery Fluid between it and its Shell. Which Shell being broken at the Time of the Deluge, the Face of the Globe, which before was regular and smooth, became then rugged and irregular; the Mountains and Hills being formed by Lumps of the broken terrestrial Crust, the lower Parts of which falling into the Waters, threw up their Tops towards the Skies; and thus produced craggy Rocks and elevated Mountains.

The Faults of which System have been considered and refuted in a geometrical Manner by Mr. *Keil* [1]; and indeed every one, who hath at any Time since written upon this Subject, have spent their Criticisms on it; and that I may have my Share along with the rest, I shall venture to inform you of the Objections which occur to me against this System, which is written in a very elegant, and entertaining Manner, but with a Pen more of the Poet, than the Philosopher.

[1] *Keil's Exam. of the Theory of the Earth.*

The Faults, therefore, of this System seem to me principally to be these: First, That the Earth, especially this Earth which we inhabit, and which is manifestly impregnated with the Seeds of Minerals, is so much heavier than Water, that it is contrary to all the Rules of Hydrostatics, to suppose such a Crust could be collected by any natural Means, over a Fluid so much lighter than the crusty Matter itself. And that there were Mines and Minerals in this Crust, that is, towards the Surface of the Globe before the Time of the Deluge, is plain from *Genesis* ii. 11, 12. where there is mention made of *Gold*, of *Bdellium*, and the *Onyx* Stone; as also from *Gen.* iv. 22. where there is mention made of *Brass* and *Iron*.

Secondly, If the Earth had been as smooth and plain on its Surface, as this System supposeth it to have been before the Deluge, there could have been no Rivers; as there would have been no Waters for the Sun to exhale, and of Consequence neither Dew nor Rain. Nor, if there had been Dew and Rain, would there have been Inequalities enough on the Surface of the Earth to have formed Rivers, but must at best, as soon as they had fallen, have formed themselves into Lakes and noisome Pools. Whereas it is manifest from *Gen.* ii. 10. that there were four Rivers at least, before the Flood, and that in the Land of *Eden* alone.

Thirdly, Had the Waters beneath this Crust of Earth been excluded from any Communication with the outward Atmosphere, by the Interposition of that oily, slimy Substance, of which he supposeth the Crust of Earth to have been composed, it would have been in vain for God to have blessed the Fishes, and to have said unto them [2], *Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the Waters in the Seas*, for they would all

[2] *Gen.* i. 22.

have died : Air being almost as necessary to the Life of a Fish, as to the Life of any other Animal ; for it is found by Experience, that Fishes, though kept in a Vessel filled with Water, will not live in an exhausted Receiver.

Nor, lastly, would this account for those Quantities of Shells which are found all over this habitable World, even in the very Heart and Summit of the Mountains. For as Shell-fish mostly keep at the Bottom of the Sea, they, if they had been there alive at the Time of the Deluge, would have been left at the Bottom of their ancient Bed ; only some few of them might possibly have been thrown up a little Way on the Surface of the Earth, while others were crushed to Death by the falling in of the broken Crust upon them.

The next Author I shall consider is Doctor *Woodward*, who hath written an *Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth* ; in which Essay he hath certainly made a very commendable Progress, by his Searches after all Kinds of Fossils and Minerals in the Bowels of the Earth ; and by the Pains he hath taken in his Treatise on Fossils, to reduce them under their several Classes. But that which is peculiar in his System, is this, that, finding Sea Shells not only in the Heart of Mountains, and almost at the Bottom of the deepest Pits, and also finding them frequently petrified and inclosed in the solid Rock ; and frequently also consolidated with the Stone itself, so as only to be distinguished from it by the Difference of Colour, he supposeth that at the Time of the Deluge, when the Fountains of the great Deep were broken up, the Surface of this Earth, together with its Rocks of Stones, and Mines, and Minerals, &c. were, by the Power of the Water, and the Will of God, turned into a soft Pulp, which hardening by Degrees, afterwards upon the retiring of the Waters, the Shells, that by the Force of the Deluge were
 Q 3 flung

flung upon the Land along with their neighbouring Earth, became afterwards of one Substance with the Mud to which they were united, and so hardening by Degrees, were converted into Stone or otherwise, according to the Nature of the Pulp in which they were enclosed.

Which Supposition or Hypothesis would serve well enough to account for those Shells that are dissolved and turned into the very Substance of the encircling Fossil; but will by no Means serve to account for those Shells, which being enclosed in the Bowels of the Earth, have nevertheless still retained their own natural Form, and specific Gravity; since it is manifest from their retaining their own natural Shape and Substance, that they were not, and of Course that every Thing was not, then reduced into Pulp; and therefore, as those Shells had manifestly Strength enough in their Construction to resist such a Reduction, those Mines and Minerals which were of a more firm, solid, and rigid Composition, may well be supposed to have preserved their own natural Firmness also.

I am, &c.

LETTER II.

MY LORD,

THE next Author who hath written upon this Subject is Mr. *Whiston*, in his Treatise which he entitles, *A new Theory of the Earth, from its Original to the Consummation of all Things*. The Particularities of which System are these: That he doth not suppose

pose this World to have been created out of Nothing, but to have been originally a Comet reduced into the State of a Planet ; that until the Fall of Man it had no diurnal Motion ; and therefore until that Time, that it had only an annual Motion round the Sun, which caused its Days and Years to be one and the same Period of Time, only under different Denominations.

But with regard to the Petrification of Fossils since the Time of the Deluge, he adopts Dr. *Woodward's* Hypothesis ; and supposeth further that the great Quantity of Water, which was necessary to overflow the Tops of the Mountains fifteen Cubits high, which Mountains he supposeth to have existed before the Flood, and computeth to be six Miles perpendicularly higher than the Surface of the common Earth ; this Quantity of Waters, I say, he conjectureth to be owing to the Approach of a Comet, whose Tail having taken this World at that Time in its Passage, did, in the Space of a few Hours, furnish a sufficient Quantity of Water to drown the whole Earth ; the Superfluity of which, as soon as this Work of Providence was over in destroying the Sons of Men, was, as he conjectureth, absorbed in the Cavities of the Earth.

The Faults of which System are, in general, that it is too conjectural, there being no Foundation in Nature for the Supposition of these two Hypotheses about the Comets, it being equally easy for Almighty God to have created this World out of Nothing, as out of a worn-out Comet, and to have drowned it with the Word of his Mouth rather than with the Tail of a Comet, which seems to me much better calculated for setting it on Fire, than overwhelming it with Water. His particular Conjecture about the diurnal Rotation of the Earth before the Fall of Man, will be spoken of in a future Letter [3], when I come

[3] See Letter IV.

to treat of the *Mosaical* Creation, not being worthy of a particular Consideration in this Place; and indeed the whole Treatise seems better calculated to inform us of Mr. *Whiston's* Skill in Astronomical Learning, and the Doctrine of Comets, than in the Doctrine of *Moses*, either with regard to the Formation of the World, or the Alteration of it at the Time of the Deluge.

The next Authors which come under our Consideration, are Messrs. *Buffon* and *le Cat*, both of whom I shall consider at once, as I see no Difference in their Opinions with regard to the Subject now before us; M. *Buffon*, and M. *le Cat*, both seeming to agree in this, that those Fossil Shells, and Skeletons of Fish, which are found buried in the highest Mountains, and even in those of the greatest Distance from the Sea, are not the Effect of the Deluge of *Noah*, but were prior thereto; that those Mountains did not rise on a sudden, but were the natural Effect of the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea, which at the Time of the Creation originally covered the Face of the whole Earth, until, by Degrees, the Agitation of the Waves having raised some Heaps, or Eminences of Sand and Mud, the Interstices, or Cavities, that were formed thereby, receiving vast Quantities of Water, left Part of the Earth exposed and dry, and thereby contributed to form a Continent; which was gradually encreased, by the same alternate Motions of the Sea, to the Size in which it is at present.

M. *le Cat* read his System to this Purpose before the Academy at *Rouen*, A. D. 1745. And M. *Buffon* hath written a large Treatise on the same Principles, which he published at *Paris*, A. D. 1749. but, what is very surprizing, does not so much as once mention the Name of M. *le Cat*.

The Fault of their System seems to be this; that if the Face of the Globe was once uniformly round, and as uniformly covered over with Water, as these Authors

thors rightly suppose it to have been at the Creation, then there can be no natural Reason assigned for the Formation of Mountains upon their Plan, those assigned by them, being absolutely unphilosophical ; for the Sea, in its greatest Agitations, always levels every thing in its Power, instead of raising it into Hills and Vallies ; as may be experienced by any one, who will be at the Trouble of digging a Hole and raising the Sand, in any Part of the Strand within the Reach of the Tide.

When an Obstruction is once formed, which is too high, too solid, and too strong, for the Workings of the Sea to level and throw down, it then will, in stormy Weather, rage and foam against the Sides of it ; and, if it cannot undermine it, will, seemingly, employ some of its own Materials to batter down the Face thereof ; some of which Materials will, upon shallow and sloping Shores, be sometimes thrown so far upon the Ground, that the next returning Wave may not have Strength enough to bring them back again ; but they will, however, be left in one level Line at High-water Mark, and will make a very different Figure from the irregular Appearance of those scattered and dispersed Mountains, which cover the whole Continent. And if these Authors will but make the Experiment, of raising a Mound within the Reach of the Tides, and and let but a single Spring-Tide get above their Works, I believe, instead of finding their Mound increased into a Mountain, they will find their Mountain reduced into a Mole-hill, if not entirely carried off, and levelled with the Bottom of the Sea.

And accordingly, these two great Men acknowledge, by an amazing Contradiction to their general System, that the Sea is continually gaining upon the Continent, and will at length be the Destruction of it. For, say they, as the Rain is continually washing

ing down, and lessening the Tops of the Mountains, so is the Sea, by its continual Flux and Reflux, excavating, and undermining them, at the Bottom; so that in Process of Time, there will be produced a Confluence of the Seas from Hemisphere to Hemisphere. By Means of which, the Earth will become hollow, and its Figure only be preserved by its Shell, which Shell, being attenuated to a certain Degree, will fall and tumble in, and the Surface of the Earth be again covered with Water.

But, whether M. Buffon and M. le Cat, or Moses and St. Peter will be the truer Prophets, every one of common Sense may be the Judge, and Time will certainly discover. For Moses [4] positively asserts, that God declared unto Noah, saying, *I will establish my Covenant with you, neither shall all Flesh be cut off any more by the Waters of the Flood; neither shall there be any more a Flood to destroy the Earth.* And St. Peter [5] says, that *the Day of the Lord shall come as a Thief in the Night, in which the Heavens shall pass away with a great Noise, and the Elements shall melt with fervent Heat, the Earth also, and the Works that are therein shall be BURNT UP.*

And as it is manifest from the *Mosaical* Account of the Creation, that there was no longer Space of Time, than that of Three Days [6], before the Earth was firm and dry, and solid enough to bring forth Grass, and the Herb yielding Seed after his Kind, and the Tree yielding Fruit after his Kind: And as in the Space of Six Days [7], Moses says, this World was so entirely formed, as to be an Habitation fit for the Reception of Mankind; there does not seem to have been sufficient Time, according to the *Mosaical* Account, for the Formation of Mountains by the tedious Operation of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea; which, according to the Acknowledgment of Messrs.

[4] Gen. ix. 11.

[5] 2 Pet. iii. 10, 12.

[6] Gen. i. 12, 13.

[7] Gen. i. 31.

Buffon, and *le Cat*, could not have been the Effect of a Day or an Age, or even of many Ages. So that we must either give up the *Mosaical* Account, or theirs.

And whereas M. *le Cat* is pleased, in his own Justification, to make a Distinction between those religious Truths contained in the Books of *Moses*, which concern our Salvation, and those which relate to Arts and Sciences, the first of which he allows to be Objects of Faith, and ought to be accepted of as such; whereas the latter, he thinks, may be contested, or even rejected:

I do acknowledge with him that there are human Opinions intermixed, in the sacred Writings, with those respectable Truths which relate to our Salvation; and that of this Kind are those Passages, which refer to Arts and Sciences, the Opinions and Customs of Nations, or the particular Sentiments of that Writer, whom God was pleased to employ: With regard to which, the Spirit of Truth hath not thought proper to rectify the common Notions; its chief End in these sacred Writings, being religious Truths and Holiness, not Curiosity, or human Literature: But that Mankind may principally be informed in such Things as are profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness; that the Man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good Works [8].

And yet, I look upon it as impious, to assert that any of these Declarations in the sacred Writings, which relate even to Arts and Sciences, &c. are absolutely false. Since it is undeniable, that there are some Matters of Fact mentioned in the sacred Writings, which, though not immediately relating to the moral Conduct of Men, do, nevertheless, by the continued Evidence of their Veracity, cast a real Lustre on the Truth of that Revelation in which

they are contained; and of this Sort, are those Facts in the Scriptures, which refer either to the History, or Geography, of those Countries that are mentioned in the sacred Writings: Which, though they are not to be considered as Treatises, expressly written for the Purpose of instructing us in the History or Geography of those Countries, yet, if they could be found not to be true in any particular, this would cast a great Blemish on those Scriptures, in which such false Assertions are to be found. And to suppose that the Holy Spirit could permit any of its inspired Writers, to intersperse, with its Revelations, any real Errors or Untruths, either natural, historical, or geographical, would at least be an unjustifiable Imputation, if not blasphemous.

In like Manner, with regard to Arts and Sciences, and the Opinions and Customs of Countries, if it could be proved that there were no such Arts and Sciences then in being, nor any such Opinions and Customs then prevailing, at the Time when such Arts or Sciences, Opinions or Customs, are said in the sacred Scriptures to have been in Use, it would, without Controversy, be a great Detriment to the Credibility of the sacred Writings. Whereas, it is no Disadvantage to the Veracity of the holy Scriptures, to have certain Opinions mentioned in them as true, though in themselves really not true, provided such were then the current Opinions of those Times, and were in those Ages thought to be true; for thus *Moses*, when speaking of the Moon, calls it a *great Light*, because it apparently is so, and was in those Ages thought to be such. In like Manner, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, are described as being *in the Firmament of Heaven*, because they apparently are so, the human Eye not being able to distinguish the different Distances of Bodies, after certain Limits. So that although *Moses*, when speaking more accurately, plainly describes the *Firmament of Heaven*

ven [9] to be only that Extent of Atmosphere, which immediately furrounds this Earth, and divides the Waters which are in the Clouds, from the Waters which are in the Seas ; yet, as the human Eye cannot distinguish how far this Atmosphere extends, therefore every thing which is seen through it, though, in Reality, greatly beyond it, was then thought, and is even now, according to the Speech of the Vulgar, commonly said, to be in it.

When, therefore, the inspired Writers speak of any Matters of Fact, we are to distinguish between the Truth of the Fact itself, and of the Manner of telling it. Thus, for Example, with regard to that Matter of Fact, mentioned in the Book of *Joshua*, where it is said that *the Sun stood still* [1], the Veracity of this History nevertheless, remains unimpeached, though it should be proved that the Continuance of the Light of the Sun, for so long Time together in the same Part of the Heavens, was owing, not to the Stoppage of the Sun, but of the diurnal Rotation of the Earth, or to any other supernatural Cause whatsoever ; because the Historian would not otherwise have been understood ; and that to the Eye of a common Spectator, who beheld the Sun at that Time, it must appear, as it did to *Joshua*, as if it was the Sun, and not the Earth, which stood still.

And now that I am upon this Subject, I think it proper to remark, that, when we are desirous of explaining the Scriptures, we ought to consider, whether they are to be understood in a literal, in an allegorical, or even in a metaphorical Sense ; but that this ought nevertheless to be laid down as an infallible Rule ; Never to forsake the plain, literal, natural, and obvious Sense of Scripture, unless where the Nature of the Thing itself, parallel Places, or evident Reason, afford solid and substantial Grounds for so doing. In which Cases, even the doctrinal

[9] Gen. i. 6, 7.

[1] Josh. x. 13.

Parts of the Scriptures, which relate entirely to our Salvation, may, and ought to be, interpreted in a Sense different from that which the plain Construc-tion of the Letter carries along with it.

And although it must certainly be acknowledged that many Parts of the History, both relating to the Creation of this World, and to the Deluge, as told in the Books of *Moses*, are to be entirely ascribed to the wonderful Power of Almighty God, and cannot in the least be accounted for by natural Means ; yet, whatever is clearly accountable for in a natural Way, ought not, without great Reason, to be ascribed to the Interposition of a miraculous Power, no more than the Belief of those divine Revelations, which can rationally be interpreted in an intelligent Manner, ought to be imposed on us as unintelligible Myste-ries. For we must not think that Revelation, which was given us in Aid of Reason, could possibly be de-signed to deprive us of the Use of it ; or to abridge us in the Employment of those Faculties of the Mind, with which God hath been pleased to endow us. And therefore we may reasonably conclude, that we are at Liberty to exercise our Understandings, either in forming Systems suitable to those Revela-tions, or in attempting to explain, by natural Causes, those Truths which are revealed unto us. For as Reason and Revelation never did, never will, never can, disagree, when rightly understood, the Refer-ence from Reason to Revelation, for the Operations of a first Cause, and the Explanation of Revelation by Reason, in the Application of second Causes, will mutually assist and enlighten each other.

I shall therefore, in my next Letter to your Lord-ship, endeavour to vindicate the *Mosaical* Account of the Creation, and to compare the Assertions of *Moses* in the History he gives us both of the Creation of the World, and of the Deluge, with the Dictates of true Philosophy ; being thoroughly convinced, that

the Truth of Revelation never appears so bright, as when narrowly and strictly viewed under the Advantage of the best Light that unprejudiced Reason can afford. Who am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

LETTER III.

MY LORD,

I Now proceed, according to my Promise, to make a philosophical Enquiry into the History of the Creation, as delivered to us by *Moses*, in the Book of *Genesis*; which Book, it is more than probable, was written by *Moses* during his Retirement in the Wilderness of *Sinai*, when he fled out of *Egypt*, for Fear of the Resentment of *Pharaoh*, on his killing an *Egyptian* who was oppressing an *Hebrew*, as mentioned *Exod.* ii. 11, 15. where he remained full forty Years, as appears from *Acts* vii. 23. when compared with *Acts* vii. 30. During which Time we have no Account of *Moses* at all, but for the last two or three Years of this Period, when we are told that *Moses* [2] accidentally met with *Jethro's* Daughter, whom he took to Wife, and by whom he had two Children before he returned to *Egypt*, the youngest of which was at that Time an uncircumcised [3] Infant.

I suppose, therefore, it was during these thirty-eight Years of the Life of *Moses*, of which we have no Account either in the Scriptures, or by Tradition, that he wrote the Book of *Genesis*; which, I like-

[2] *Exod.* ii. 16.

[3] *Ibid.* iv. 24.

wife suppose, he then received by Inspiration from GOD, as well with regard to the Matter of Fact mentioned therein, as with regard to the Materials and the Art of Writing, whereby they were recorded. For, though it is said of *Moses*, that he *was learned in all the Wisdom of Egypt* [4]; yet I do not take literary Writing to have been at that Time any Branch of the Wisdom of *Egypt*. It is certain that *Moses* was acquainted with the Art of literary Writing before the Delivery of the Commandments to him upon Mount *Sinai*, which are said to have been written by the Finger or Power of God; because when GOD ordered *Moses* to record the Victory gained over the *Amalekites*, which happened in the Road to Mount *Sinai*, and before the Delivery of the Law to *Moses*, GOD directed him to *write it for a Memorial in a Book*; and therefore *Moses* must then have been skilled in the Art of literary Writing. But, as this Event came to pass after the Time that *Moses* had lived retired in the Promontory of *Sinai* for eight and thirty Years he might still have been instructed in this Art during that Retirement.

But the Question is, What were the Materials, of which that Book was composed? *Pliny* [5] says, that the most ancient Way of Writing was upon the Leaves of the Palm-tree; but that afterwards the inner Bark of a Tree was made Use of. He likewise takes Notice, that *Homer* mentions it as a Practice before the War of *Troy*, to write Epistolary Letters on Tablets, which were folded together. He doth not mention where this Passage is, that he alludes to, but I suppose it is in the sixth *Iliad*, where *Bellerophon* is said to have carried Letters from *Prætus* King of *Argos*, to the King of *Lycia*. Now *Bellerophon* was the Father of *Hippolochus*, who was the Father of *Glaucus*, who warred at *Troy*. And therefore, according to *Homer*, this Custom of writing on Tablets was in

[4] Acts vii. 22.

[5] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xiii. c. 11.

Practice two full Generations before the War of *Troy*; that is, much about the same Time with the Reign of King *Solomon* in *Israel*. For *Solomon* was contemporary with *Sesoftris*, or the *Skishack* of the Scriptures; and *Sesoftris* was the Father of *Pheron*, who was the immediate Predecessor to *Proteus*, during whose Reign in *Egypt*, according to *Hercdotus*, happened the famous Event of the *Trojan War*.

These Tablets *Pliny* calls *Pugillares*; but the common Name of them in *Latin* was *Tabellæ*, whence the Carriers of them were called *Tabellarii*. And that this was the most ancient Way of writing, by covering Tablets, which were made either of the Leaves of Plants, or the Bark of Trees, with Wax or some other Composition analagous thereto, is more than probable; as will appear, if we enquire what is said on this Head in the *Old Testament*. For there we have an Account of *Letters* being sent from one Person to another, about Business, so early as the Reign of *David*, who sent a *Letter* to *Joab*, as it is mentioned 2 *Sam.* xi. 14. But this Letter is in the original *Hebrew* Text called *Sepher*, which Word is in other Places translated a *Book*; whence it is probable that this Letter was written in the same Manner, and with the same Materials, as were used in the Composition of Books. But what those Materials were, is still to be enquired into. Which Enquiry, as it is not yet settled among the Learned, I shall beg your Lordship's Patience for being a little particular in.

The Word *Sepher*, which is sometimes translated a *Book*, sometimes an *Epistle*, and sometimes a *Bill of Divorce*, which was so small and light as to be delivered into the Hand of a Woman [6], is never used in Scripture to signify any thing else, but something relating to *Writing*, or else to *Numbers* and *Accounts*; whence the Probability is, that this Name of *Sepher*

[6] Deut. xxiv. 1.

was given to a *Book*, because it was composed of the same Materials on which the *Egyptians* and others kept their *Accounts*; but what this was doth not yet appear.

Nor does the Word *Catab*, *to write*, give us any Light into this Affair; because it is used to signify any Kind of Writing, whether it was done with *Ink*, as was practised in the Time of *Jeremiah*, who expressly declareth his having *written* the Words of *Baruch*, *with Ink, in a Book* [7]; or whether it was done by Sculpture, as when *the Writings* of the *Ten Commandments* are said to be *the Writings of God graven in the Stone* [8].

Nor does the Word *Macab*, *to blot*, furnish us with any Instruction towards this Discovery, as when *Moses* desires God to *blot him out of his Book* [9]: Because that Word may be applied to any Manner of Destruction, or Extirpation, either by forcibly scraping out the Words with an Iron Instrument, or wiping them out with a Cloth, as may be seen by comparing *Gen. vi. 7. vii. 4. Ec. with 2 Kings xxi. 13. Prov. xxx. 20.*

But the Name of the Instrument for writing with, seems to let us a little into the Secret. For it is sometimes called *Cheret*, as for Example, by the Prophet *Isaiab*, when he says, that God commanded him to *take a great Roll, and write in it with a Man's PEN* [1]. Which word *Cheret* is also made Use of by *Moses*, when he speaks of the Instrument which *Aaron* used in shaping the Golden Calf into the Form of an Image [2]. Which sheweth that this *Pen* must sometimes have been made of Iron, shaped at one End in the Form of a graving Tool.

This Instrument is also called *Skebet*, as when the Children of *Zebulon* are said to *handle the PEN of a*

[7] Jer. xxxvi. 18.

[8] Exod. xxxii. 16.

[9] Exod. xxxii. 32.

[1] Isaiab viii. 1.

[2] Exod. xxxii. 4.

Writer [3]. Which Word *Shebet*, being most commonly used to signify a *Rod*, shews that this *Pen*, or Instrument for writing with, was sometimes made of Wood.

But this Instrument is also called *Yet*, as when *David* says, *My Tongue is the PEN of a ready Writer* [4]. And when *Job* wisheth that his *Words were graven with an Iron PEN and Lead, in the Rock for ever* [5]. Now, as this Word is derived from the *Hebrew* radical Verb *yatab*, to *cover*, it is plain, that though one End of this *Pen* might have been sharp, like the Point of a graving Instrument, yet that the other End of it was broad and flat, being so contrived, in order to spread the Wax, and *cover* the Tablets with it, or with such other Composition as was then used for writing with. Which Instrument being called in *Greek* *σῦλος*, in *Latin*, *Stylus*, and in *English*, *Style*, is the Reason why the Difference in the Manner of Men's Writings or Compositions, is called a different *Style*.

And that this Kind of Writing was in Use at the Time of *Moses*, is manifest from the Directions given by *Moses* to the *Israelites*, saying, *When you shall pass over Jordan unto the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt set up great Stones, and plaister them with Plaister; and thou shalt write upon them all the Words of this Law* [6]. Which we find was accordingly executed by *Joshua* [7]. So that if we consider that the *Pens*, which are mentioned in the Scriptures, were either made of Wood, or of Iron, and might as well be called *graving Instruments* as *Pens*, the Probability is, that the first Method of writing in a Book, was performed by plaistering the Tablets, which were made either of the Leaves of Plants or the Barks of Trees with Wax, or some other similar Composition, and graving on them the Words of the Writing.

[3] Judges v. 14.

[5] Job xix. 24.

[7] Josh. viii. 32.

[4] Psal. xlv. 1.

[6] Deut. xxvi. 2; 3.

For it is not to be supposed that these Tablets, of which the Books or Epistles were composed, were made of thick Pieces of Wood, but of the lightest and thinnest Materials that could be found of sufficient Firmness to support the spreading of the Wax, such as the Leaves of some Plants, and the inner Bark of some Trees. And as the inner Bark of Trees was most easily had, and was most durable, which in *Latin* was called *Liber*, and in *Greek* Βιβλος, this was the Cause of those Denominations being given to *Books*, in the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages. And since Parchment could not be of Use for these Purposes, because the Wax, even while the Parchment was kept flat, would by no Means stick to it, but would certainly come off in Flakes, when rolled up; I apprehend that the Use of Skins for writing on was not found out till after the Use of *Ink* had been discovered; the first mention of which, that we find in the Scriptures, was in the Time of *Jeremiah* the Prophet, as I before observed.

PLINY saith, from *Varro*, that the Use of *Paper*, or of writing on the *Papyrus*, which is a Sort of large Flaggar that grows in *Egypt*, was found out in the Time of *Alexander the Great*, when he was about building *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. Which possibly may be true of that particular Plant. But, saith he, when *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, endeavoured to erect a Library at *Pergamus*, which should outdo that at *Alexandria*, the *Ptolemy* who then reigned in *Egypt*, prohibited the Exportation of the *Papyrus*; which obliged *Eumenes* to have Recourse to the Invention of making Books of Parchment; and hence it is that Parchment is called *Pergamena* in *Latin*.

But Dr. *Prideaux* [8] is of Opinion “that this
“could not be the first Invention of that Material
“for writing on: Because that in *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*,

[8] *Prid. Con.* P. i. B. vii.

“and

“ and *Ezekiel*, many Ages before the Time of *Eumenes*, we find mention made of Rolls of Writing.” To which he might have added a much earlier Instance than any of these; and that is, the *Psalms* of *David*, in which there is a Reference made to the Works of *Moses*, under the Title of *the Volume of the Book* [9]. And, says the Doctor, “ Who can doubt, but that these Rolls were of Parchment? For, continueth he, it must be acknowledged, that the authentic Copy of the Law, which *Hilkiah* found in the Temple and sent to King *Josiah*, was of this Material, none other used for Writing, excepting Parchment only, being of so durable a Nature as to last from *Moses’s* Time until then.” The Force of which Argument dependeth upon the Word *Roll*. For, as to the Durableness of the Material, surely the Bark of a Tree, if once well dried, is full as likely to last as the Skin of a Beast. And as to the Word *Roll*, the original Word *Gilah*, which is, in the Passages of Scripture referred to, translated a *Volume*, or *Roll*, that may signify any Collection of Things, which are either *folded* up, or *heaped* together, as well as *rolled*; being manifestly used in this Sense, *Gen.* xxxi. 46, 48, where *Jacob* said to his Brethren, Gather Stones; and they took Stones and made an HEAP: and they did eat there upon the HEAP. And *Laban* said, This HEAP is a Witness between me and thee this Day. Therefore was the Name of it called GALEED, or *Gilead*, as this Word is better read *Numb.* xxxii. 1, &c.

But, after all, what seemeth most surprizing is this; that, although the Art of stamping Characters by the Help of a Signet, which Characters were cut in the hardest and most precious Stones, was in Practice in *Judæa* two hundred Years before the Time of *Moses*, as appeareth from *Gen.* xxxviii. 18. when compared with *Exod.* xxviii. 11. yet we should not

[9] *Psal.* xl. 7.

have the least Trace of the Art of literary Writing until the Time of *Moses*, nor of the Art of Printing until about 350 Years ago.

And what evidently shews that the Art of literary Writing was not known, either in *Egypt*, or elsewhere, until about the Time of *Moses*, is, that when *Abraham* sent his favourite Servant to the City of *Nabor*, his Brother, in *Mesopotamia*, to look for a Wife for his Son *Isaac*, he sent no Letter with him, but only a Message that was delivered by Word of Mouth. Whence it is plain, as *Abraham* had been in *Egypt* several Years before the Birth of his Son *Isaac*, and yet had not learned the Art of literary Writing, that this Art was not then known in *Egypt*.

And about two hundred Years after this, when *Joseph* had discovered himself to his Brethren, and was sending for his Father *Jacob* to come into *Egypt*, he did not write a Letter to his Father, which it is probable he would have done, had the Art of literary Writing been then practised in *Egypt*, but only sent a Message to his Father by Word of Mouth, *Gen. xlv. 9, &c.*

And, indeed, the Probability is, that literary Writing was not practised in *Egypt* until many Years after the Death of *Moses*; because we have no History of the Transactions in *Egypt*, in any profane Author that can be depended upon, until many Years after *Moses* was dead. For, as Sir *Isaac Newton*, in his *Chronology*, very justly remarks, *before the Use of Letters the Names and Actions of Men could scarce be remembered above eighty or an hundred Years after they were dead*; and as there is no certain History either of *Egypt*, or of any other Part of the World, which can in the least be depended upon before that Period of Time, but what is in this Book of *Genesis*; therefore, I take it for granted, that this Book was the first that ever was written in the World.

And

And as that Book giveth us an Abstract of the most remarkable Occurrences which happened in the World, from the very Creation of it, to a little before the Time of *Moses*; the Truth of which the Learning and Experience of every Age since that Time have been daily confirming, I take this to be a strong Proof, if not a demonstration, of the divine Inspiration of the Author. For, after the Dispersion of the Sons of *Noah*, and the Confusion of Tongues at *Babel*, even supposing the Art of literary Writing to be then known, how was it possible for any one Person to know, or to be informed of what was become of the rest of them? Unless you will also suppose such a Person to have been inspired with the Art of reading all the Characters, as well as speaking all the Languages upon Earth. And, as we find by Experience, that Men had not Learning sufficient in those Times to preserve the Annals of their own little separate Districts, how should any one Person be able to collect or learn the Disposition of the several Descendants of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, from the most western Parts of *Africa*, to the most eastern Parts of the Kingdom of *Assyria*; when they could not understand each other's Language sufficiently to supply one another with the Necessaries of Life?

Let any one read the History of *Herodotus*, the first Historian who giveth us any tolerable Account of those early Times, and he will find a Number of Falsehoods and Errors in that Performance; altho' he lived above a thousand Years after *Moses*, when the Art of literary Writing was become common, and was every where practised; when Arts and Sciences had been greatly improved, and the Knowledge of Languages had been communicated from one Nation to another, by the Means of that Traffic and Commerce, which had been carried on between them both by Sea and Land for many Generations. And nevertheless, although *Herodotus* was undoubt-

edly an honest, able, and inquisitive man, and may be depended on, whenever he asserteth any thing upon his own Knowledge; yet, when he speaketh from Tradition and the Report of other Persons, how imperfect, how fabulous is the Account which he giveth even of the History of the Kings of *Egypt*, where he went himself in Person in Search of Information!

Whereas the Works of *Moses* carry with them this internal Testimony of their Veracity, that he speaketh from no *Hear-says*, but like *one who had Authority* for what he said. Not like a Collector of History from detached Pieces of traditionary Reports, but as a Man well instructed by some one Person, who was himself present in every Transaction that is there related. And who could that Person be but some one that was more than Man?

P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE the first writing of this Letter to your Lordship, I have endeavoured to vindicate the Authenticity of the Histories of the *Old* and *New Testament*, against the Objections of the late Lord *Bolingbroke*; which, I trust in God, hath been sufficiently performed. But since in that Performance I promised to revise these Letters which I had formerly done myself the Honour of writing to your Lordship, I think myself obliged to let no Objection pass unanswered, which I apprehend may contribute to give your Lordship the least Doubt about the divine Inspiration of those sacred Writings: And since Mr. *Voltaire* [1] is said to have undertaken the Support of Lord *Bolingbroke*, I shall endeavour to obviate all his Objections; and therefore shall beg Leave to add a few Observations in this Place, to that Letter which

[1] In a Pamphlet entitled, *A Defence of Lord Bolingbroke's Letters*, &c. Printed at *Berlin*.

I formerly sent to your Lordship. And I look upon myself at present as called upon to do this ; because Mr. *Voltaire* asserts, “ that it is allowed that the sacred Geography is in many Places inaccurate.”

Who *they* are that *allow* this, I do not know ; for Mr. *Voltaire* doth not name them. But if he means the *Adversaries* of Lord *Bolingbroke* in general, as he is pleased to style those who differ in Opinion from him ; I must, for my own Part, absolutely disavow the Assertion. If Mr. *Voltaire* only meaneth, as Lord *Bolingbroke* more properly expresseth it, that the sacred Books are *insufficient* to instruct us in a complete System of Geography ; I will freely agree with him, and own that they are *insufficient* for those Purposes. But, that is far from proving them to be *inaccurate* with regard to the Geography of those Places, which are mentioned in them. For, on the contrary, they are so remarkably accurate ; with regard to the Situation of all the Places which are there specified, that I have never yet met with any Objection on that Head, which cannot be demonstrably shewn to be erroneous : And, I take upon me to affirm, that every Improvement which is made in our geographical Maps of those Countries, evidently confirms this Assertion.

But, says Mr. *Voltaire*, “ The Names of those
 “ Cities which are found in those Writings, and which
 “ were not so called until a long Time after, create
 “ a vast deal of Perplexity.” And again, saith he,
 “ The Adversaries of the great Man whose Cause
 “ we have espoused, tell us, *that it is as clearly proved*
 “ *that Moses is the Author of the Pentateuch, as that*
 “ *Homer wrote the Iliad.* They will give me Leave to
 “ answer them, that the Comparison is not just.
 “ *Homer*, in his *Iliad*, doth not mention any Fact
 “ that happened a long Time after his Death. He
 “ doth not call Towns and Provinces by Names
 “ which they were not known by in his Time.”

Who

Who this particular Adversary of Lord *Bolingbroke* is, whose Words Mr. *Voltaire* seemeth to have quoted, I do not know; nor is it of any great Consequence: For by some subsequent Quotations and References to his Proofs, he seemeth to be no very powerful Adversary; but, what is worse, seemeth to have been a little intemperate in his Language, and to have entered too far into the private Character of Lord *Bolingbroke*; which is undoubtedly foreign to this Dispute. It is a Misfortune to Learning, that Men bred to Letters are not always bred Gentlemen. The Narrowness of their Circumstances, or the Reservedness of their natural Dispositions, both or either of which may contribute to seclude them from the World, to confine them to their Studies, and to deprive them of the open and generous Conversation of well-bred Company, contributeth also to the Narrowness of their Manner of Thinking, to make them positive and dogmatical; and by Degrees soures their Tempers, renders them unfociable, and maketh too many of them impatient of Contradiction; which when they cannot answer by Ratiocination, they fly into a Passion, and make up the Deficiency, like most low-bred People, with Abuse.

But, my Lord, I hope all his *Adversaries* are not of this Kind, and that there are some, who although they may differ in Sentiments from him, treat him with that Respect which is due to him as a Scholar, as a Gentleman, and as a great Genius, all of which he undoubtedly was. I have endeavoured, in those Letters which I did myself the Honour of writing to your Lordship, in Answer to Lord *Bolingbroke*, to shew that it is, not only as clearly, but more clearly proved, that *Moses* is the Author of the Pentateuch, than that *Homer* wrote the *Iliad*, to which I shall beg Leave to refer your Lordship [2]. And whereas Mr. *Voltaire* adds, that *Homer*, in his *Iliad*, doth not

mention any Fact which happened a long Time after his Death ; nor doth he call Towns and Provinces by Names which they were not known by in his Time ; this Objection, I do own, were it true, would have a great deal of Weight in it. I could wish that Mr. *Voltaire* had been pleased to specify the Places he alludeth to. But since he hath not, the Objection seemeth to me to be of so great Moment, that I have since read over the Pentateuch of *Moses* more than once, with all the Impartiality I am Master of, in order to find out all the Places which can be comprehended under the aforementioned Objection ; and can find but one Instance, which can in the least come within the Reach of it, that hath not been already obviated.

For as to the Objection raised by Lord *Bolingbroke* to the Account given in the last two or three Chapters of *Deuteronomy*, of the Death of *Moses*, and the panegyrical Oration that was made on that Occasion, and to which Mr. *Voltaire* seemeth to allude ; this Part of the Work was undoubtedly added to the Pentateuch by *Joshua*, as I have already shewn [3] ; and is no more a Proof that the former Part of that Book was not written by *Moses*, than it is a Proof that the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius* was not written by *Eusebius* ; because the Continuation of it, from the Time where he left off, hath been carried on by *Jerome* to his own Time, and is now printed in the same Book, Letter or Type, with that of *Eusebius*.

I likewise took Notice, in my Answer to Lord *Bolingbroke*, of the Objection which might have been started to the Authenticity of the Book of *Deuteronomy*, from the Title of *King*, which is given to *Moses* ; and shewed, that that was a Title given in the Time of *Moses*, and by *Moses* himself, to the Heads of Families who were less numerous than the Children of *Israel* ; although I do not suppose that Part of the

Book of *Deuteronomy* to be written by *Moses*, but by *Joshua*. These were all the Objections that occurred to me at that Time; the latter of which I chose to mention, altho' it was not taken Notice of by Lord *Bolingbroke*, because I really have no other View in troubling your Lordship, or the World, with these Letters, but the Investigation of Truth. And upon searching the Pentateuch I can find but one Difficulty more, which cometh within the Reach of the above Objection started by Mr. *Voltaire*, which is this; That the Place to which the *Israelites* were driven by the *Amalekites*, when they were discomfited on their Attempt to go over Mount *Hor*, in their Way to the Land of *Canaan*, as mentioned *Numb. xiv. 45*, is there called *Hormah*, or *Cormah*, although it should seem from *Numb. xxi. 3*. as if that Name was not given to that Place until near eight and thirty Years afterwards.

The Answer to which is this: That in that early Age of the World, many Places, which are since well known by particular Denominations, had then no Name at all, but had their Denominations assigned to them from some remarkable Accident which happened in them; as for Example, the Names of *Taberah* and *Kibroth-Haltavaab*, which were given by *Moses* to those Stations of the *Israelites*, as mentioned *Numb. xi. 3, 34*. with numberless other Instances. Now then let us suppose, that the *Israelites* had come twice to the same Place, and that *Moses* did not assign any particular Name to that Place until the second Time of his Arrival there; would it be any Absurdity, when he came to write a History of the Transactions of the *Israelites*, and had Occasion to mention the first Time of the Arrival of the *Israelites* at this Place, which then had no Name, if he should specify it by the Name which he had afterwards given it? I apprehend not. And yet this is the Matter of Fact in Question. For the *Israelites* had
twice

twice attempted to pass Mount *Hor*, and were twice driven back again to the same Place; which Place, upon their second Defeat, *Moses* called *Hormah*, or *Chormah*, that is, Destruction. And when he came to write a History of these Defeats, he mentions the first of them after this Manner: *Then the Amalekites came down, and the Canaanites which dwelt in that Hill, and smote them, and discomfited them even unto Hormah*, Numb. xiv. 45.

Had this Place not been called *Hormah* until after the Death of *Moses*, there would indeed have been great Strength in the Objection; but when this Name was given to this Place by *Moses* himself, and before he had finished his Work of the Pentateuch, I think in this Case the Objection hath no Force in it. And I know of no other Passages that are liable to this Objection of Mr. *Voltaire*, but those which I have now mentioned.

But Mr. *Voltaire* proceedeth, and saith, when speaking of Lord *Bolingbroke*, "This great Genius hath in some Measure disarmed his Adversaries, by separating Faith from Reason, which is the only Way to terminate all these Disputes.—Father *Simon* was of this Opinion.—And it suffices that we believe these Books with an humble and submissive Faith, without precisely knowing the Author, to whom God alone did visibly inspire them, to confound human Reason."

In Answer to which, I must take the Liberty of informing your Lordship, that this *Measure* for *disarming his Adversaries*, by separating Faith from Reason, was not the Invention of Lord *Bolingbroke's* great Genius, but was attempted some Years ago in a Pamphlet entitled *Christianity not founded on Argument*; which Proposition, if true, would effectually *terminate all these Disputes*. And I do not wonder that Father *Simon*, and the whole Set of Popish Divines, should be of the same Opinion with Lord *Bolingbroke*, although
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for different Reasons. Lord *Bolingbroke's* Motive, and that of the rest of the Deists, for separating Faith from Reason, is, because the Consequence would be, the laying aside all Faith or Belief in Revealed Religion. Whereas Father *Simon*, and the rest of the Popish Clergy, are for separating Faith from Reason, in order to destroy Reason, that all Faith may be placed in the Directors of the Church, that is, in themselves. Which Scheme, whether it would tend to the Benefit of Religion, may possibly be a Matter of Dispute; but sure I am, that it is no impolitic Scheme with regard to the Clergy.

Now, my Lord, the Reason why separating Faith from Reason would destroy all Faith in Revealed Religion, is this, That no one can believe any thing, unless he hath some Reason or other for believing it. I speak in general, and without any Exception. The Reason upon which his Faith is grounded, may not always be the strongest; but some Reason or other, either real or apparent, every rational Creature must have for believing any thing, before he can possibly believe it.

Which Reasons may, in general, be divided into two Sorts, *viz.* *Testimonial*, and *Scientifical*. Testimonial Evidence is that which dependeth upon the Credit and Testimony of other People. Thus, for Example, it dependeth upon testimonial Evidence, that Men, who have never been out of *England*, believe there is such a Place as *Rome*, or *Jerusalem*, or *Constantinople*, or that we at this Time believe there ever did exist such Persons as *Jesus Christ*, or *Julius Cæsar*, or *Moses*; in short, that we believe any thing historical, or of which we have not had, or cannot have, any immediate and personal Knowledge. And this is the Kind of Evidence which the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* want to have established, as the *sole Rule of Faith*. Whereas scientifical Evidence is that which dependeth on the Nature and Reason of Things,

Things, when duly collated and compared together : As, for Example, it dependeth upon the Nature and Reason of Things, that those, who are skilled in Philosophy, believe the Ebbing and Flowing of the Tides depend upon the joint Influence of the Sun and Moon ; and that they believe it is not the Sun by moving round the Earth, but the Earth by moving round its own Axis, which causes the Vicissitudes of Day and Night. And as it is consistent with the Nature and Reason of Things, that we ascribe natural Effects to natural Causes, so doth it likewise depend on the Nature and Reason of Things, that we ascribe supernatural Effects to supernatural Causes ; and of Consequence, when we hear of any supernatural Facts so well attested as to be a Foundation for Belief, it is agreeable to the Nature and Reason of Things, that we believe these Facts to have been performed by some Agent, who is superior to the Laws of our Nature. But then, as these supernatural Works may only be a Proof of the Power, but not of the Goodness of the Agent ; so must the End for which these wonderful Works are performed, and the Doctrine which they are intended to inculcate, be taken also into Consideration, in order to convince us of the Goodness of the Agent ; since it is not consistent with the Nature and Reason of Things to believe that a good Being would contribute to establish Immorality, or Image-worship, or Idolatry ; or that an evil and malevolent Being would take Pains to establish either the Love of God, or the Love of our Neighbour. And as the Performance of these wonderful Works must be proved in the same Manner that all other Facts are to be proved, hence it ariseth, that it is upon both these Kinds of Evidence, as well Testimonial as Scientifical, or upon the joint Concurrence of Reason and Faith, that our Belief in Revealed Religion doth and ought to consist. For
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it depends upon *Testimonial Evidence*, that we believe the Books of the *Old* and *New Testament* were written by those Persons whose Names they bear; that there were such Persons then living; and that the Facts which they relate were really and truly performed. But then the comparing of these Evidences together, the enquiring into the *Number*, the *Integrity*, the *Skill*, and the *Design* of those Persons who relate these Facts, the collating all the *several Parts*, and *Circumstances* of these Narrations, both with themselves, and with *contrary Testimonies*, if there be any; and our deducing the proper Consequences from thence, so far as to believe, upon due Evidence, the divine Mission of the Person performing these wonderful Works, is all *Scientifical*, and dependeth upon ourselves, and our own Ingenuity; and to give it any Degree of Merit must so far be the Result of *our own private Judgment*; in Proportion to which also will be the Degree of our Reward.

As therefore our Belief in the sacred Writings dependeth upon the Nature and Reason of Things, as well as upon Testimony, it is irrational to suppose that we ought to believe any thing, let the Testimony be ever so strong, which is contradictory to Nature and Reason. And therefore Mr. *Voltaire* proceedeth to attack the Books of *Moses* by artfully stating that Difficulty, which he selecteth for an Example of the feeble *Light of human Understanding*, in not being able to unfold *how the Egyptian Priest could have found Water to have turned into Blood*, when there was no Water left in *Egypt*, *Moses* having already made this *strange Metamorphosis*, as if it included a Contradiction. Which I propose to consider further in one of these subsequent Letters, where this seeming Contradiction will be removed [4]. Nor, saith Mr. *Vol-*

[4] See Part II. Let. XIII.

taire, can Reason explain how the Serpent spake in Days of old; or how Balaam's Ass spoke to his Master.

Which Objection will also be obviated in a subsequent Letter, where the Subject, I shall then be engaged in, will introduce the Solution of these Difficulties more regularly, than at present [5]. For while we acknowledge there are other Beings, which are manifestly superior to the Laws of our Nature, it is not contrary either to Nature or Reason to assert, that they may interpose in human Affairs, and sometimes perform wonderful and supernatural Works, which are above, but not contradictory to Reason, so as to convince us of their Superiority to us, and our Dependance upon them; and thereby to abash human Pride, but not to *confound human Reason*, as Mr. *Voltaire* is pleased to express it; since even God himself cannot act a Contradiction.

I shall therefore, in my next Letter, proceed to endeavour to reconcile the sacred Writings with Nature and Reason; and shall begin with making a particular Enquiry into the Account which *Moses* giveth of the Creation and Deluge, which have had so many Objections raised against them.

I am, &c.

[5] See Part III. Let. VI.

LETTER IV.

MY LORD,

IN the former Letters, which I did myself the Honour of writing to you, I have done little more than clear my Way: Now, therefore, it is time to proceed to vindicate the Account which *Moses* giveth of the Creation and Deluge, and to endeavour to reconcile it with Reason and Philosophy.

In the Beginning GOD created, says he, the Heaven and the Earth [1]. That is, In the Beginning of the Creation of this World God created the Materials of which this terraqueous Globe, together with its incumbent Atmosphere, were composed. For as I take it for granted that by the Word EARTH *Moses* meaneth this terraqueous Globe which we inhabit, so by the Word HEAVEN, I suppose he means only that Atmosphere or Firmament of Air which surroundeth this Globe of Earth, and which dividing the Waters that are under the Firmament from the Waters that are in the Clouds above the Firmament, GOD, as [2] *Moses* in another Place expreffeeth it, called *Heaven*; it being the same Word in the Original that is used in both these Places.

I know it is imagined by some that this Creation, here mentioned by *Moses*, alluded not only to this World which we inhabit, but also to that infinite unbounded Space in which the Stars are ranged according to their proper Order; because the Stars are, in the Language of the Scriptures, called [3] *the Stars of Heaven*; and are said, as well as the Sun and Moon,

[1] Gen. i. 1. [2] Gen. i. 8. [3] Gen. xxi. 17, &c. &c.

to be placed [4] *in the Firmament of Heaven.* But, as it hath been before observed, this is only said as speaking according to the vulgar Capacities of Men, and according to the common Appearance.

True it is, indeed, that They, and all Things else that exist, were created by God; but as the Intent of *Moses* in writing the Book of *Genesis* appeareth principally to have been to inform Mankind in the History of their particular Creation and Fall, and the Redemption of Mankind through the promised *Messiah*; and to caution them against Idolatry, by informing them that all this World, with its Inhabitants, and concomitant Planets, were the handy-work of God; there is no Reason to imagine that *Moses*, by the Words *In the Beginning*, had any View of Reference to the Creation of any other World, but that which is inhabited by Mankind, or at most to this planetary System, and to which he assigneth a Duration of about 2400 Years before his own Time, whereas, to suppose that this was the *Beginning* of, or the first Exertion of God's creative Power in general, and that God had not above 2400 Years before *Moses*, or above 6000 Years ago from our Time; created any Beings, nor formed any Worlds before this which we inhabit, is an Hypothesis unworthy of the infinite Power, and eternal Existence of Almighty God.

In the Beginning therefore of this World, God created this Heaven and this Earth; which Creation Mr. *Whiston* will not allow to be a Creation out of Nothing, but supposeth God to have changed a Comet into this Planet of our habitable Earth; and Mr. *Leibnitz* supposeth that God made it out of a decayed Sun, or fixed Star; and Mr. *Buffon* supposeth that this whole planetary System was formed out of Materials torn from the Sun by the too near Approach of a Comet; which Materials streaming forth with

Violence, when they came to their proper Distances, according to their several Densities, they then whirled about, and formed themselves into those Balls or Globes, of which this planetary System is composed. But why, since *Moses* is entirely silent about this Affair, these learned Persons will not allow this World to have been created out of Nothing, I cannot conceive; unless it be that these Gentlemen imagine that God cannot work without Materials: As if that Almighty Being, who spoke the Sun, the Comets, and the fixed Stars themselves into Existence, had gone to the Extent of his Power, and could form nothing new. But this I only mention to shew how far an indulged Imagination will carry Men of Learning, when they have any favourite Scheme to pursue.

In the Beginning therefore, God having created this Heaven and this Earth, whether out of [5] Something or out of Nothing, is perfectly equal as to the Description given of it by *Moses*; *The Earth*, saith he, *was without Form and void* [6]. *TOHU VE* [7] *BOHU*, as it is in the Original, which Words are generally used in the Bible, to denote a *desolate, barren, and unprofitable* Place; to which, I suppose, *Moses* alludeth in this Passage, to the Earth's being *without Form*; since God had not yet impregnated the Earth with the Seeds of Fertility.

And Darknes, saith he, *was upon the Face of the Deep*; for as the Sun was not yet created, it is certain that there was then much less Light, than there is now even in the darkest Night.

[5] The Word *create* seemeth rather to imply a Creation out of Nothing, than out of Something; but as it is applied by *Moses*, *Gen. i. 27.* to the Creation of Man, who was undoubtedly formed out of the Dust of the Earth, therefore I also venture to make Use of it in the same Sense.

[6] The Places where the Word *Tohu* is used, are, *Gen. i. 2. Deut. xxxii. 10. 1 Sam. xii. 21. Job vi. 18. xii. 24. xxvi. 7. Ps. cvii. 40. Isai. xxiv. 10. xxix. 21. xxxiv. 11. xl. 17. 23. xli. 29. xlv. 9. xlv. 18, 19. xlix. 4. lix. 4. Jer. iv. 23.*

[7] The Places where the Word *Bohu* is used, are, *Gen. i. 2. Isai. xxxiv. 11. and Jer. iv. 23.*

Thus far, therefore, *Moses* having mentioned the Creation of the Materials of which this World was composed, without specifying the *Form* into which they were disposed; I shall now consider what would be the natural Consequence resulting from thence. Which is this, That these Materials must be fixed in some certain Place, and have Laws assigned them whereby they would unite into some certain *Form*.

And if the Laws then assigned them were the same, by which they have ever since been actuated, as it is more than probable they were, the Consequence would be, That wherever the Spot of vacant Space was, which God was pleased to assign to the Materials of which this Heaven and this Earth were composed, for their Abode and their Existence, there they would, by the Power of Attraction, all gather together in a *Globe* about it, according to their several Densities. So that the Earth, with its Mines and Minerals, would occupy the lowest, that is, the innermost, or nearest Place to the Center. The Waters would be next and would equally, according to all the Rules of Hydrostatics, overflow the whole Surface of the Earth in a Thickness, or Depth, proportionate to their Quantity. And the Air, Atmosphere, or Heavens, would be driven to the Circumference, where it would also equally spread itself all around the Globe on the Surface of the Waters. And if God was pleased to dispose of this Globe at such a Distance from any other attractive Body, as to be beyond the Sphere of its Activity, it would there remain in that one Spot for ever; because, having no Tendency or Determination towards any other Place, it must for ever stay where it was, where it would, as *Mr. Pope* describeth it, *Self-balanc'd, hang in Air below*.

And in this Circumstance it is next described by
Moses

Moses, when he saith, *And the Spirit*, or *Air of God*, moved upon the Face of the Waters; the original Word, which in our Translation we render *Spirit*, equally signifying either *Spirit*, or *Air*, or *Wind*, or *Breath*; in which Senses it is frequently made Use of in numberless Places of Holy Writ. And as for this Atmosphere being called the *Air of God*, it is a Method of speaking common to the *Hebrews*, whenever they had a Mind to express any Thing that was high, elevated, or eminent in its Kind, to call it a Thing of GOD, that is a Godlike Thing. Thus high Mountains are in the Scripture Style called *the Mountains of God*; the Cedar Tree, on account of its Loftiness, is called *the Cedar of God*; Men of Power and Authority are called *Sons of God*; and the City of *Nineveh*, on account of its Size, is called the City of GOD. The Atmosphere, therefore, may well be called *the Air of God*, on account of its Elevation, and the great Height of its Expansion over the Surface of the Waters. And that the *Jews* understood this Passage in this Sense, as referring to the Air and Atmosphere, appeareth plainly from the *Chaldee* Paraphrase of learned *Onkelos* on this Verse, who rendereth it thus; *And the Air BLEW from GOD on the Surface of the Waters*. Which continueth to be the common Opinion among the *Jews*; and was also the Opinion of *Tertullian* and *Theodoret*. Although *Basil*, *Augustine*, and most of the Fathers, suppose this to be *the Spirit* of GOD. But *Cbrysoftome* thinketh it only to be a vital Spirit of Fecundity, which was impressed upon the Waters by GOD: This, however, cannot be the Meaning of it, because the Spirit or Power of Fertility was not communicated to the Earth until the third Day, nor to the Waters until the fifth; *Gen. i. 11. 20.*

The original Word, which in our Translation we render *moved*, properly signifieth not a progressive, but a gentle, slow, and shivering Motion, such as a

Man maketh when he shaketh for Fear, in which Sense this Word is used *Jer. ii. 3. 9.* or, as a Hen useth when she expandeth her Body and Wings over her Brood of Chickens, and in this Sense it is made use of *Deut. xxxii. 11.* And therefore, as this Word is most elegantly expressive of the vibrating Motion of the Air, I should choose to translate this Verse thus, *And the Air of GOD SPREAD, or EXPANDED, itself over the Surface of the Waters.* For until this terraqueous Globe had gained some Motion, either round the Sun, or round its own Center, it could not properly be said, that the Air *blew*, but that it *spread*, or *expanded* itself.

And now GOD having given this World its *Form*, and fashioned it into the Shape of a terraqueous Globe, where the Earth was surrounded by Water, and the Water was again enclosed in its circumambient Atmosphere; he then thought proper to create the Sun which is thus described: *And GOD said, Let there be Light, and there was Light. And GOD saw the Light that it was good: and GOD divided the Light from the Darknefs: and GOD called the Light Day, but the Darknefs be called Night; and the Evening and the Morning were the first Day.*

From which Description I conclude that this Light, which was then created or spoken into Existence, was the Light of the Sun, and not that of a lucid Cloud, like the Belt about the Planet *Saturn*, as is conjectured by some. Because this Light, being the Cause of the Distinction between Day and Night, illuminated but one half of the Globe at a Time; by which Means the *Light was divided from the Darknefs*, as will easily be seen by the annexed Diagram. See Plate I. Fig. 1.

M. le Pluche, in his Treatise entitled *the Truth of the Gospel demonstrated*, [8] supposeth the Light, which is here said to have been created, to have been that

Light or Fire which is equally distributed through all Nature, and is every where to be found in this terrestrial Globe, and which Fire may be collected and rendered visible and sensible, by Collision of a Flint and a Steel, in the coldest, as well as darkeſt Regions of the Earth; and which according to M. *le Pluche*, *Boerhaave*, and ſeveral other modern Philoſophers, the Sun doth not generate, but only agitate. Be it ſo. And let us ſuppoſe ſuch a Principle of elementary Fire to have been created at this Time; I deſire to know, whether it ſtill would not want the Sun, or the Motion of a Flint and Steel, or of ſome other luminous Body to collect and agitate it, though not to generate it; and to project and direct its Motion in right Lines, in order to render it viſible, and to enable it to *divide the Light from the Darkneſs*. For, to uſe his own Similitude. “ Juſt as the Air, “ which the Gun thruſts againſt my Ear with a great “ Exploſion, did ſubſiſt before the Gun was made “ and will afterwards, and for ever, ſerve for the “ tranſmitting of new Sounds; ſo might this elementary Fire have exiſted before the Sun.” But as the Air would not ſtrike my Ear, ſo as to produce Sound, unleſs it were ſet in Motion by the Gun, or ſome ſonorous Body; ſo neither would this elementary Fire produce Light, until it were collected by ſome luminous Body in ſuch a Manner, and put into ſuch a Motion and Direction, as to render it viſible: as the Matter of Fact evinceth every Night of our Lives; this elementary Fire, although it ſubſiſts every where around us, not ſufficing, in the Abſence of the Sun and Moon, to give us Light to our Beds.

So that, although we ſhould allow this elementary Fire to have been created at the ſame Time with, or ſoon after the Creation of the Earth, it would ſtill want ſome luminous Body, ſuch as the Sun, to collect and direct its Particles in right Lines, ſo as to make it

it visible. Which luminous Body we may as well suppose to be the Sun, as that God would create another particular luminous Body for the first three Days which was to be annihilated on the fourth. And what adds some Confirmation to this Opinion is, that the Name, which the *Egyptians* gave to the Sun of *Ore* or *Orus*, is borrowed from the very Word which this *Light* is expressed by in the original *Hebrew*.

I am very sensible that that which hath driven *M. le Pluche* into this Conjecture, is the common Opinion, that the Sun was not created until the fourth Day. Because it is said in the Works of that Day, that *GOD made two great Lights, the greater to rule the Day, and the lesser to rule the Night, he made the Stars also*. Whereas the Meaning of that Verse is no more than this, that God having before created the Sun and the rest of the fixed Stars, he on the fourth Day created the Moon, whereby there came to be two different great Lights visible in the Heavens, the one to rule the Day, and the other to rule the Night; by the Help of both of which Mankind would also be afterwards enabled to regulate their Seasons, and to count their Time by Days, and Months, and Years. Which will be further explained when I come to treat on the 7th Verse of this Chapter.

And this is further proved also from the very Text itself; because God begins at this very Time, that is, from the Creation of this Light, to reckon by *Days*; which every Body knows, depend upon the Light of the Sun, in whatever Sense the Word is taken; whether *natural*, *artificial*, or *prophetical* Days. By the *natural* Day is meant one Revolution of the Earth round its own Center, which comprehends the Space of twenty four Hours, and is composed of one *artificial* Day and one Night. So that an *artificial* Day is only the Time of the Duration of the Sun above the Horizon; In which Sense that Part of this

Very

Verſe muſt be underſtood, when *Mofes* ſaith, that God called the Light Day; and the Darkneſs be called Night. And in the other Senſe of the Word muſt that Part of the Verſe be underſtood, when he ſays, that *the Evening and the Morning were the firſt Day*.

And here I cannot but take Notice of a very vulgar Error, which the Bulk of Mankind have run into from a wrong Interpretation of this Text, in beginning to count their Days from the Evening. Whereas it is plain from the Words of this Text that *Mofes* began to reckon his firſt Day from the Morning, and not from the Evening, when he ſays, *and the Evening and the Morning were the firſt Day*. For ſince at the Creation, *Darkneſs was upon the Face of the Deep*, as ſoon as the Sun began to ſhine, then began the Day; and continued twelve Hours, until Evening cloſed the Day; at which Time the Night having commenced, continued alſo for twelve Hours more, until the ſucceeding Morning cloſed the Night; and thus it was that the Evening and the Morning formed and compoſed, or finiſhed and completed, the firſt natural Day, of twenty four Hours, by one Revolution of the Earth round its own Axis.

As to the *prophetical Day*; [9] Mr. *Whiſton*, not judging a Day of twenty four Hours a ſufficient Time for God to have wrought all theſe wonderful Works in, which are attributed to each of the fix Days, he is inclined to think that Days are in this Place put for Years, becauſe they ſometimes are ſo in the Language of the Prophets; and becauſe the Time of the Duration of ſome Men's Lives, or of ſome remarkable Tranſactions, are ſometimes reckoned by Days as well as Years: Thus, he obſerves, that it is ſaid of *Adam*, that *all the Days that Adam lived, were nine hundred and thirty Years*; which, however, doth not mean that the Length of *Adam's* Life was only nine hundred and thirty Days or Years, but that the Num-

[9] See Page 231.

ber of the Days which he lived, when added together composed nine hundred and thirty Years. However, as God himself makes a Distinction between Days and Years in the 14th Verse of this very Chapter, this Whim of Mr. *Whiston's*, as it is only a Play upon Words, seemeth not to deserve any further Notice.

And that it was an *artificial* Day of twelve Hours that was made by the Light of the Sun, which is here meant by *Moses*, when he says, *and God called the Light DAY*, is plain, because he not only opposeth it to Night, but also because he makes mention of the Morning and the Evening, Expressions which are applicable to *natural* or *artificial* Days, but not to Years.

And it being manifest that God had at this Time instituted the Vicissitudes of Evening and Morning, and of Day and Night; therefore it is plain that the Earth had at that Time acquired the Power of its diurnal Rotation round its own Axis: For this Vicissitude of Day and Night could only be performed one of these two Ways, either by the Revolution of the *Light* or Luminary round our Globe of Earth in the Space of twenty four Hours, or by the Revolution of our Globe round its own Axis in the same Space of Time: which would have exactly the same Effect, both with regard to Use and Appearance. The Question therefore is, which of these two Ways is that, which Providence hath pursued? This will serve as the Subject of my next Letter.

LETTER V.

My LORD,

The Question I proposed to discuss in this Letter was, whether the Vicissitudes of Day and Night were made by the Revolution of the Sun round our Earth.

Earth; or by the Revolution of our Earth round its own Axis? In Answer to which it may be observed that, according to the general Course of Nature, that Method, which is most easy and simple, is the one which is generally established, and which is used by Almighty God, the Author of Nature: And as it seems much easier for this Earth to revolve once round its own Axis in the Space of twenty four Hours, than for the Sun to move round the Earth, and to make that vast Course of our annual Orbit, in the Space of twenty four Hours, therefore that of the diurnal Motion of the Earth round its own Axis seems of the two to be the more probable Opinion.

For, if we do but suppose the Circumference of our Globe of Earth under the Equator to be twenty four thousand Miles, the Surface of the Earth, to move round its own Axis once in twenty four Hours, must move at the Rate of a Thousand Miles an Hour. But if we suppose the Earth to remain fixed, and to stand still, and the Sun to move round the Earth in twenty four Hours, as the Distance of the Sun from the Earth is about eighty one Millions of Miles, the Circumference of his Orbit would be four hundred eighty six Millions of Miles; and therefore, to get round the Earth in the Space of twenty four Hours he must move at the Rate of twenty Millions of Miles in an Hour. Whereas a Cannon Ball does but move at the Rate of eight Miles in a Minute, which amounts to four hundred and eighty Miles in an Hour. So that for the Sun to get round the Earth in the Space of twenty four Hours, he must move at least forty thousand times swifter than a Cannon Ball in its utmost Velocity.

We can moreover see, by the Help of Telescopes, that all the rest of the primary Planets move about the Sun, and not the Sun about them; and therefore we ought to conclude that this Planet, which we inhabit, moves in an uniform Manner with the rest.

But

But as these are only probable Reasons, and I know your Lordship is not easily satisfied with bare Probabilities; and as it will give you some Notion of the planetary System, I shall proceed to furnish you with a Demonstration that it is not the Sun by moving round the Earth, but the Earth by moving round its own Axis, that causes the Vicissitudes of Day and Night.

Which may be done by shewing that the Sun is larger than our Earth. Because it is absolutely contradictory to the present established Laws of Nature, for a larger Body to be detained and moved, either in a circular, or in an elliptical Orbit, round a less. So that if the Sun be larger than our Earth, as it demonstrably is by the Observations made both on the lunar and solar Eclipses, it cannot possibly revolve about our Earth. And therefore of consequence the Vicissitudes of Day and Night must be owing to the Revolutions of our Earth round its own Axis.

But probably your Lordship may object that you do not see the demonstrable Truth of that Proposition, in which I assert that it is absolutely contradictory to the present established Laws of Nature, for a larger Body to be detained by and revolve, either in a circular or in an elliptical Orbit round a less. This therefore must be proved.

In order to which you are to understand that it is an established Law of Nature, that all Motion is naturally rectilinear, that is, that any Body put into Motion would eternally move in one straight Line, unless it was either intirely stopt, or turned out of its Course by some greater Force. You are likewise to understand that it is another established Law of Nature, that Action and Re-action are equal. That is, in equal Bodies they are of equal Force, and in unequal Bodies they are in Proportion to the Quantity of Matter; but so as that it is perfectly equal as to the Effect, in which of the Bodies the active Power is lodged.

As

As for Example, suppose two Ships of equal Burthen in a calm Sea, and that a Man in one of them had a Rope fixed to the other, and was furnished with Strength sufficient to move them, it would be equal in which of the Ships he was placed; for as they are both supposed to be of equal Weight, when he pulled the Rope, they would both move equally and at the same Time, until they met exactly half Way. And if we suppose them to be of unequal Burthen, and that one of them was ten or an hundred Times larger than the other, the Effect would still be the same, whether the Man who pulled the Rope stood in the larger or the less Vessel; only with this Difference, that they would approach each other with a Degree of Velocity proportioned inversely to their Burthens or Weight, that is, the less Vessel would move ten or an hundred Times faster towards the larger, than the larger would move towards the less; and of Consequence they would meet when the larger Vessel had moved but the tenth, or hundredth Part of the Way towards the less Vessel.

Here then you may ask, how we can contrive to make one of these Vessels thus tied together, to move round the other? Why, by supposing one of them to be much larger than the other, and the less to have a Motion communicated to it, at least equal to the Force with which it was pulled or attracted, and with a Direction at right Angles to the Power of this Attraction. As for Example (See Plate II.) let us suppose a Rope fixed on the Top of the main-Mast of a Ship, which was 700,000 Times larger than the Boat that was tied to it at a Distance; for so much at least is the Sun larger than our Earth; and let a Man be supposed to pull this Rope; whether he stands in the Boat or in the Ship, the Effect will be equal, for if the Boat had no other Motion

Motion but that of Attraction given to it, it would move directly towards the Ship with a Velocity greater than that of the Ship towards it, in a Proportion of 700,000 to 1. But, if we suppose two Men put into the Boat, who should row the Boat with their Oars, in a Direction at right Angles to the Rope which pulled the Boat towards the Ship, and that they rowed the Boat with a Force equal to that with which the Man pulled at the Rope, then it is manifest that the Boat must move in a Circle round the Ship. Because the two Forces being equal, neither of them would be able to get the better of the other. By which Means, the Boat would necessarily describe such a Line, as would constantly preserve it at an equal Distance from the Ship, or the Center, which would be that of a Circle.

Nor would the Ship be left entirely at Rest, but would be moved also in a Circle round the Center of its own first Station, at a Distance proportionate to the 700,000th Part of the Force with which the Boat was agitated or attracted.

But on the other hand, let us now suppose the Boat to stand still, and the Ship at the same Time to hoist its Sails in a Direction at right Angles to the Rope by which she was pulled towards the Boat and to be agitated with a Force capable of giving her a Degree of Velocity equal to that with which the Boat moved round the Ship; and then let us consider, what would be the Consequence. Would she ever make a Circle about the Boat? By no Means. For, as the Force, which is necessary to move the Ship, must be 700,000 greater than that which is necessary to move the Boat, the Ship would of Consequence stand its Course, and would drag the Boat with it wherever it went, only with the loss of the 700,000th Part of its Velocity which would be abated by the contrary Pull of the Boat.

And from hence it will follow, to a Demonstration,
that

that since the Sun is 700,000 Times at least larger than this Earth, therefore it doth not, cannot, move round this Earth as round a Center: And of Consequence, therefore, the Vicissitudes of Day and Night must be owing to the Revolutions of this Globe round its own Axis. *Q. E. D.*

And here I think it proper to observe to you that although the Planets do not move round the Sun in exact Circles, but in elliptical, or oval, Orbits, which is owing to the Line of Direction, when they were first set in Motion; yet does this in no Ways invalidate the Force of the foregoing Argumentation, though it would render it a little more complicated in the Explication.

And thus having considered this earthly Globe surrounded on its Surface with Water, and this Water environed by its incumbent Atmosphere, and all together revolving round its own Axis, whereby the *Light* of the Sun, which by the opaque Solidity of this Earth was *divided from the Darknes*, was enabled successively to illuminate all the several Parts of this World in their Turns, which was the Work of the first Day's Creation; I shall in my next consider what would be the natural and philosophical Consequences thereof, in order to discover what would be the Operations of the second Day's Creation.

LETTER VI.

MY LORD,

HAVING thus far traced this terrestrial Globe, which we inhabit, and considered it in its first Existence, as a Ball composed of Air, Water, and Earth, encompassing one another in separate *Strata*, according to their several Densities; and having fol-

lowed

lowed it in its Motion revolving round its own Axis, and enlightened by the *Sun*; we come now, in the next Place, to consider what would be the natural Consequences of all this; in order to find out, if we can, what would be the natural Operations of the next Day's Work of the Creation.

The first of which would be this: That the Sun would, by the attractive Power of its Beams, exhale a Quantity of Vapours from the Surface of those Waters which expanded themselves over the Face of the whole Earth. Which Vapours thus exhaled by the Sun, being, by the Minuteness of their Particles, made lighter than Air, would be driven off from the Surface of the Earth by the superior Weight of the Air, and would float in the Air or Atmosphere, and form themselves into Clouds, according to their different Densities. And agreeably to this we find that *Moses* declares, that God said on the second Day, *Let there be a Firmament in the Midst of the Waters, and let it divide the Waters from the Waters.* That is, Let the *Heavens*, which were created in the Beginning, now operate as an *Expanse*, or an expanded Firmament, for so the original Word properly signifies, to support these Vapours or Clouds, *and let it divide the Waters in the Clouds from the Waters on the Earth.* And God made, or appointed the Heavens to be, or to operate as a *Firmament*; *and divide the Waters which were under the Firmament from the Waters which were above the Firmament; and it was so. And God called the Firmament Heaven. And the Evening and the Morning were the second Day.*

Whence it is manifest that by the Expression in this Verse, of GOD's having MADE the *Firmament*, there is no more meant, than his having, on the second Day, appointed it to the Exertion of those natural Powers which it was created to execute: Because it is said, that God called this Firmament *Heaven*; which Heaven was undoubtedly created on the

first Day, when God *created the Heaven and the Earth*, the original Word in both Places being the same. When therefore God is said, in the Operations of the second Day, to have made this Firmament which is called Heaven, the Meaning is no more than this; that the Firmament of the Heavens then began, or was then *made* to operate in supporting the Clouds, according to those Laws which were assigned to it by the great Creator; as the elegant Author of the Book of *Job* beautifully expresseth it, when, speaking of God, he saith, *He bindeth up the Waters in his thick Clouds, and the Cloud is not rent under them*, Job xxvi. 8.

And accordingly *Moses*, when he describes the Finishing and Close of the Creation, says, *And God blessed the seventh Day, and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all his Work*, WHICH GOD CREATED AND MADE [1]. Where the Expression in the *Hebrew* literally is, *which God created to make*, that is, which he created in order to make them subservient to his Will in the Execution of their several Functions, to the Uses for which they were appointed. See Page 265.

And now God having on the second Day formed the Vapours, exhaled out of the Waters, into Clouds, and having *made* or appointed the Firmament of Heaven to be a Support for them, and to divide the Waters that were under the Firmament from the Waters that were above the Firmament, the next Consequence that would arise from the Creation of the World, as hitherto described, would be some other of those Effects, which would arise from the Motion of the Earth round its own Axis; which, beside the Formation of Night and Day, would likewise produce this Effect, that the Waters, which before were equally dispersed over the Face of the whole Earth, would immediately begin to

[1] Gen. ii. 3.

quit the Poles, and would all run towards the Equator or the Middle of the Earth.

Because, as I before shewed, all circular Motion rising from a Contest between the Centripetal [2], and the Centrifugal Force [3], the Particles of Water being in a fluid State, would be agitated by their centrifugal Force to fly off from the Center as far as possible. (Like a Stone in a Sling, which, for Example, when once put in Motion, always keeps the String, as long as it is therein detained, at its utmost Stretch.) But not being able to overcome the attractive, or centripetal Force, at the Equator, the Waters would be there detained, like the Stone in the Sling, at the utmost Distance they could move to from the Center of the Earth. And by bringing some of the Mud along with them, would render the Earth of a cycloidal Form, that is, would make it something wider at the Equator, than under the Poles. And by gathering themselves there, in that *one Place*, as it were in an Heap, the Earth, all the Way from the Poles to the Edge of the Waters under the Equator, would begin to appear, and at length become firm and dry Ground. By which Means this terraqueous Globe would be divided into three Parts, two of which would be Earth, and would be separated from one another by a Belt of Waters under the Equator.

Therefore, on the third Day, God is represented by *Moses* as having said, *Let the Waters under the Heaven be gathered together unto one Place and let the dry Land appear, and it was so. And God called the dry Land Earth, and the gathering together of the Waters called be Seas; and God saw that it was good. And God said, Let the Earth bring forth Grass, the Herb*

[2] The centripetal Force is the attractive Force, whereby any Body is drawn towards the Center.

[3] The centrifugal Force is that whereby every Body, when moved in a Circle, attempts to fly off in a Direction at right Angles to the Attraction.

yielding Seed, and Fruit Tree yielding Fruit, after his Kind, whose Seed is in itself upon the Earth; and it was so. And the Earth brought forth Grass, and the Herb yielding Seed after his Kind, and the Tree yielding Fruit whose Seed is in itself, after his Kind; and God saw that it was good. And the Evening and the Morning were the third Day.

And now, the Earth being thus far formed, and fitted for the future Reception of the animal Creation, God said, *Let there be Lights in the Firmament of the Heaven, to divide the Day from the Night: And let them be for Signs and for Seasons, and for Days and for Years. And let them be for Lights in the Firmament of the Heaven, to give Light upon the Earth; and it was so.*

It is observed before, that in the Operations of the first Day God had created Light, and had divided the Light from the Darknefs, and God called the Light Day, and the Darknefs he called Night. So that there must have been at that Time, some one Light created, which either moved round this Earth, or else which stood still and illuminated it, while this Earth moved round its own Axis; whereby, the Light being divided from the Darknefs, the Vicissitudes of Night and Day, Evening and Morning, were regularly produced. And, as it is inconsistent with the Regularity and Simplicity of the Operations of God to suppose he would create a Light only to shine upon this Earth for the Space of three Days, and then to annihilate it; therefore, when God in this Passage is represented as saying, *Let there be Lights, &c.* there is no Necessity for supposing that God now created the Sun over-again, but only that he now created an additional Light, to wit, the Moon, and probably the rest of the Planets, and set them all moving in their annual Orbits about the Sun, because he at this Time appoints them to be for Signs and for Seasons, and for Days and for Years. And therefore

Moses

Moses proceedeth, and saith, And GOD made, or appointed, two great Lights, the greater Light to rule the Day, and the lesser Light to rule the Night : He made the Stars also. And GOD set them, i. e. these Lights, in the Firmament of the Heaven, to give Light upon the Earth ; and to rule over the Day and over the Night ; and to divide the Light from the Darknes : And GOD saw that it was good. And the Evening and the Morning were the fourth Day.

That is, GOD appointed all these Lights to serve for the same Purposes, *i. e.* for Signs and for Seasons, and for Days and for Years. So that this Sentence may allude to the fixed Stars as well as to the Sun, and Moon, and Planetary Stars, altho' they were created Millions of Ages before this Planetary System : Since it is by their Assistance, and theirs alone, that we are enabled to ascertain the annual Revolutions of the Earth round the Sun, and to tell when it is returned again to the same Station in the Heavens. But if it be supposed only to relate to the Planets, then it may allude to their Creation as well as Designation, as they were probably created at the same Time with the rest of this Planetary System.

In which Sense *Plato* seemeth to have understood this Passage ; for that he had read this Book of *Genesis* seemeth to me undoubted, from the Resemblance there is in his Account of the Creation of this World to that which is here given by *Moses* ; in speaking of which *Plato* says, that GOD, when he had made the World, and contemplated it, rejoiced over it, or, in the Language of *Moses*, *He saw that it was good.* Then, saith [4] *Plato*, he made or created the Sun, and the Moon, and five other Stars called Planets, which he appointed to be the Guardians and Measurers of Time ; or, in the Language of *Moses*, *And GOD said, Let them be for Signs and for Seasons, and for Days and for Years.*

[4] *Plato*, *Timæus*.

It is also manifest that in this Place, when *Moses* calls the Moon a *Light*, and says, that GOD set these two Lights in the Firmament of Heaven, he speaketh only according to the Appearance, and not Reality, of Things. Because, in the first Place, the Moon is no original Luminary, as the Sun is; but only reflects the Light of the Sun when in certain Positions with regard to the Earth and the Sun. And, secondly, because the Moon's Situation, as well as that of the Sun, is very far distant from that Firmament of the Heaven which divides the Waters under the Firmament from the Waters that are above the Firmament, as described in the seventh and eighth Verses of this Chapter. For, as neither the Intention of *Moses* required, nor could the Capacities of the *Israelites* bear, at that Time, a strictly philosophical Account of the Creation; so because in looking at the Sun or Moon we must look through this Firmament in order to see them, and as the human Eye is no Judge of Distance after certain Limits; therefore, as was before observed, they are said to have been set in the Firmament of Heaven, being according to common Appearance really so. And for the same Reason, the Name of *Heaven* is also given to all that immense Extent of Space, which every where surroundeth our Atmosphere; and GOD himself, as well as the fixed Stars, is said to be in Heaven.

Now we come to the Operations of the fifth Day. And GOD said, Let the Waters bring forth abundantly the moving Creature that hath Life; and LET FOWL FLY above the Earth in the open Firmament of Heaven. And GOD created great Whales, and every living Creature that moveth, which the Waters brought forth abundantly, after their Kind; and every winged Fowl after his Kind: And GOD saw that it was good. And GOD blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the Waters in the Sea; and let Fowl multiply

LET. VI. of the Old and New Testament. 279
multiply in the Earth. And the Evening and the Morning were the fifth Day.

In our *English* Translation, the first of these Verses runs thus : *And GOD said, Let the Waters bring forth abundantly the moving Creature that hath Life, AND FOWL THAT MAY FLY above the Earth.* As if the Fowl were to be produced or brought forth in the Waters, as well as the Fishes. Whereas the above Translation, *and let Fowl fly*, is more agreeable both to the Original, and to common Sense.

And GOD said, Let the Earth bring forth the living Creature AFTER HIS KIND, Cattle and creeping Thing, and Beast of the Earth, AFTER HIS KIND: and it was so. And GOD made the Beast of the Earth AFTER HIS KIND, and Cattle AFTER THEIR KIND, and every Thing that creepeth upon the Earth AFTER HIS KIND. And GOD saw that it was good.

The Expression here made Use of by *Moses*, and so often repeated by him, from the first Production of Grass to the last mentioned Production of Animals, is very remarkable; insisting so much all along, that God having created them, made them, or appointed them, each to produce *after their Kind*. Whence it appears that *Moses* was better instructed in this Branch of natural Philosophy, than even *Aristotle* himself, with whom it was a Maxim, that the Corruption of one Thing was the Generation of another. For, when the ancient Philosophers saw corrupted Flesh bring forth Flies; and the Mud of the *Nile* abounding with various Kinds of Vermin and Insects, they, like some of our modern *French* Philosophers, supposed these to be heterogeneous Productions; whereas we may truly say, with *Solomon*, that *there is nothing new under the Sun*. New Compositions there may be between Beings of the same Genus, although they are of a different Species; but new generical Productions there are not. And so true is this Assertion, that when two Creatures of a different Kind, which ap-

proach nearly to one another in their Natures, happen to produce a seemingly new *Species*, that mixed Breed will never again propagate; as is experimentally manifest in the Instance of the Mule, which is produced from an Horse and an Ass; and which, although endowed with warm Dispositions, and a strong Inclination to Propagation, could never yet produce one of its own Kind.

So that Generation seemeth to consist in depositing those Seeds of the several Species of Beings, which were created at the Beginning of the World, whether Vegetables, Minerals, or Animals, in a Bed or Nest proper for their Nutrition, where each will have its Offspring *after his Kind*. And this I apprehend will be found to be true, from the Ore in the Mine to the Child in the Womb.

Not that I suppose *Moses* was a better natural Philosopher than *Aristotle*, although it was one of the Tenets of the School of *Paracelsus* [5], as well as of the modern *Hutchinsonians*, that the fundamental Principles of all natural Philosophy were to be found in the Scriptures. Whereas I do not imagine that *Moses* understood the full force and Extent of all the Truths that he uttered: But, like the rest of the Prophets of old, who [6] *spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit*; so did it also happen unto *Moses*, who, in this Place, did not [7] *speake either good or bad of his own Mind, but what the Lord said unto him, that did he speake*.

And, saith Moses, God said, Let us make Man in our Image, after our Likeness: and let them have Dominion over the Fishes of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over the Cattle, and over all the Earth, and over every creeping Thing that creepeth upon the Earth. So GOD created Man in his own Image, in the Image of GOD created he him: Male and Female created

[5] *Bacon's Advancement of Learning.*

[6] 2 Pet. i. 21.

[7] Numb. xxiv. 13.

be them.—And GOD saw every Thing that he had made, and behold it was very good. And the Evening and the Morning were the sixth Day.

Why the Almighty God was pleased to let the Creation of this World unfold itself by Degrees, in the gradual Progress of a six Days Operation, rather than to produce it all at once in its full Perfection, by one Almighty *Fiat*, is one of those *secret Things* which *belong unto the Lord*. To him, to whom a thousand Years are as one Day, it was equally easy to have produced the whole in one Instant, as in any Length of Time. Nor can any natural Reason be assigned why the Almighty should employ six Days in the Creation, and neither more nor less, rather than any other Number. *Moses* hath indeed informed us that [8] *when the Heavens and the Earth were finished, and all the Host of them, on the seventh Day GOD, having ended his Work which he had made, rested on the seventh from all the Work which he had made. And GOD blessed the seventh Day, and sanctified it.* And when GOD spake to *Moses* and the Children of *Israel* from *Mount Sinai*, he said, [9] *Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy. Six Days shalt thou labour, and do all thy Work. But the seventh Day is the Sabbath of the LORD thy GOD: in it thou shalt not do any Work, thou, nor thy Son, nor thy Daughter, thy Man Servant, nor thy Maid Servant, nor thy Cattle, nor the Stranger that is within thy Gates. For in six Days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, the Sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh Day: Wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath Day, and hallowed it.* And hence appears the Wisdom of our Saviour's Declaration, that *the Sabbath was made for Man, and not Man for the Sabbath*; GOD having, in Compassion to the Infirmary of our Nature, which requireth *Rest*, set himself as a Pattern to Mankind, that they may on

[8] Gen. ii. 2, 3.

[9] Exod. xx. 8. 11.

the seventh Day rest also from their Labours, and separate or sanctify one Day in seven from the common Business of their Callings, by dedicating it to the grateful Acknowledgements of the Benefits they have received from their Creator.

But, if there was nothing further intended by it than this, what Reason can be assigned, that not only every *seventh* Day should be set a-part, and sanctified; but also, that every *seventh* Year should have been ordered to be observed as a Year of Rest to the Land of *Israel*? and every *seven* Times *seven* Years be ordered to be kept as a Jubilee? Surely this must allude to some great Event, which is in the Womb of Time yet to be produced. And possibly may allude to, and be a Type of the *seventh* Millenary, when the Inhabitants of this World, after six thousand Years of Toil and Trouble, shall be blessed with the great Sabbath of a thousand Years *Rest in Peace* under the glorious Reign of their Messiah. And thus having gone through the six Days Work of the Creation, and endeavoured to reconcile them with Reason; I shall, in my next, make some further Observations thereon, and proceed to the Consideration of the Deluge.

Who am, &c.

L E T T E R VII.

MY LORD,

HAVING in my former Letters presented you with a System of the World at its first Creation, agreeable to Reason, Philosophy, and the Scriptures, I think it will not be improper to exhibit a Plan of it before your Eyes upon Paper, and at the same Time

to

to give you another Plan of the present World as it is now delineated by the best Geographers; whereby you will be enabled to see at one View, how violently Nature must have been some Time or other convulsed since the Creation, in order to effect so immense an Alteration in the Face of the Earth. By which you will also see how small a Part of the World at its first Creation was left to be inhabited, that is, only between the Edge of the Water at *a*, (see Plate III.) and the polar Circle at *B*; beyond which, probably, there were no Inhabitants, not only on Account of the Cold, but also for Want of Water. (See Plate III. IV.)

And as the Sea intercepted the Passage of the primeval Inhabitants in going from one Hemisphere to the other, therefore also only one of the Hemispheres was the Seat of the Habitation of the Sons of *Adam* before the Deluge. And as these original Inhabitants lived to a great Age, so as to be eight or nine hundred Years old before they died, a great many of them would be alive at the same Time; for by the lowest Computation, that can be made, there might have been several Hundreds of Thousands of Millions of Persons upon the Earth at once, by the Time that the World was 1656 Years old; and of Consequence this small Piece of Ground of the then habitable World would be overstocked: From whence your Lordship will see a Reason, besides the Wickedness of Men, for having the Face of this Earth altered in about sixteen or seventeen Hundred Years after the Creation.

For, had the Wickedness of Mankind been the only Cause of the Deluge, a Plague or a Famine, or a Series of War, might have been as effectual for that Purpose; since, as the elegant Author of *the Book of Wisdom* expresseth it [1], *Not that the Almighty was*

[1] *Wisd.* xxii. 9.

unable to bring the Ungodly under the Hand of the Righteous in Battle, or to destroy them at once with cruel Beasts, or with one rough Word: But remembering Mercy in his Anger, he was pleased to destroy Mankind in such a Manner, as that their Posterity should reap some Benefit by it. And therefore, at the Deluge of *Noah*, the Bulk of Mankind were not only destroyed, but the whole Face of the Earth was altered into that irregular Form in which it appeareth in the preceding Map. For, as *St. Peter* observes, *the Earth that then was, being overflowed with Water, perished*; that is, as to the outward Form of it, which was entirely altered.

For the Floods did not only arise, and the Rain descend, but *the Fountains of the great Deep were broken up*, and an Hollow was scooped out of the Earth, as a Bed for the Sea to lie in for the future; by which Means, God having *broken up for it his decreed Place, he thereby, as it were, set Bars and Doors to it, that it turn not again to cover the Earth, and said, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud Waves be stayed* [2]. And the Materials that were taken out of this Bed were scattered in Cataracts of Mountain upon Mountain over the whole Earth: And by this Means, not only a Passage was formed by Land between the two Hemispheres; but, the Land being broken into Islands, and Peninsulas, and raised greatly above the Waters, Harbours and Coves were formed for the Reception and Protection of Ships; and an easy Method of Communication was opened by Sea between the most distant Regions of the World. And as the Antediluvian Sea was, on Account of the Shallowness of its Shores, inconvenient, if not impracticable, for Shipping; so the Invention of the Art of Navigation hath fulfilled the Prediction made of *Noah* by his Father, when he said, *This same shall*

[2] Job xxxviii. 10. Psal. civ. 9.

comfort us concerning our Work, and the Toil of our Hands, because of the Ground which the Lord hath cursed. Gen. v. 29.

As to the Situation of the Garden of *Eden*, in which our first Parents were placed, that is thus described in the general by *Moses*. *And the Lord planted a Garden Eastward in EDEN.* Whence it is probable, that *Eden* was the Name of the Country in which this Garden was placed, which might have been so called from the Agreeableness of its Situation, of its Woods and Waters, and the Fertility of the Ground, that Word signifying *Pleasure* or *Delight*; whence it is, that several Places have, since the Flood, been called by the Name of *Eden*, not with regard to the geometrical Situation of the Places, as if they were situated in the same Spot of Ground with the original Garden of *Eden*, but with regard to the *Delightfulness*. Two of which are mentioned in the Scriptures, one as being in *Syria* (*Amos* i. 5.) and another in *Chaldæa* about *Telasser* (*2 Kings* xix. 12. *Isa.* xxxvii. 12.) And, saith *Moses*, *GOD there*, meaning that Garden of *Eden* which he had prepared for him, *put the Man whom he had formed.* *And out of the Ground made the LORD GOD to grow every Tree that is pleasant to the Sight, and good for Food: and the Tree of Life also in the Midst of the Garden, and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.* *And a River ran on the Outside of the Garden of Eden to water the Garden, from which (or before it came to which Place) it had been divided, and was in four Heads.*

The Translation of this Passage, in all the Versions of the Bible, is very bad. The *English*, with which all the rest agree, runs thus: *And a River went out of Eden to water the Garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four Heads.* From the natural Construction of which Verse one would be apt to imagine, and indeed, so it hath been generally understood by those who have written on this Subject, that this Ri-

ver had run in one Stream through the Midst of the Garden of *Eden*, and, after it had departed from thence, that then it had formed itself into four Heads. Whereas, had a River of the Bulk here mentioned, of which the *Euphrates* was but a Part, run through the Garden of *Eden*, it would have rendered one Half of the Garden useles to *Adam*, as he had neither a Boat nor a Bridge to cross it withal. So that by the Expression of the River which ran *out of Eden*, we are to understand a River that ran *out of*, i. e. *on the outside* of the Garden of *Eden*, so as to encompass it in the Form of an Horse-shoe, whose Opening was toward the East; as appeareth from *Genesis* iii. 24. where the *Cberubim* that were placed at the Entrance to guard the Tree of Life from *Adam* and his Posterity, after their Expulsion from thence, are said to have been placed *at the East of the Garden of Eden*; whence also it is manifest, that, as this was the only Pass which needed Defence, the rest of the Garden was sufficiently defended by the River from their getting into it. (See the fore-mentioned Drawing, Plate III. where the Garden of *Eden* is supposed to be situated at *A*, in the Form of an Horse-shoe, with the Tree of Life in the Middle of it.)

And by the Expression of, *and FROM THENCE it was parted*, &c. we are not to understand the lower Part of the River, which ran down from the Garden of *Eden*; but the upper Part of the Rivers which ran towards it, and where its four Heads first united. Because the literal Interpretation of the *Hebrew* is, *and thence it divided, and was in four Heads*. Now the Outlets of a River where it disembogues into the Sea, can never be called its Heads; whereas the original Word here made Use of literally signifies the Beginning, the Source, or Head of any Thing; and is derived from the very radical Word, which we in the first Verse of the first Chapter of *Genesis* translate *In the Beginning*.

As to the geographical Situation of this Garden, which hath been the Subject of Enquiry by many learned Persons, the Reasons why they seemed to have failed in this Disquisition is, because they did not consider that *Moses* hath not given us the Names of those Rivers that composed this River which environed the Garden of *Eden*, as they were called before the Flood; but hath given us the Names of the Territories near which these Rivers ran, as those Lands were called after the Flood; when several of those Rivers, that is, three of them at least, were entirely changed, by the Effects of the Deluge, both with regard to their Names, Situations, and Course. For otherwise, had not *Moses* given us the Post-Diluvian Denomination of those Lands, it would have been impossible for us ever to have found the Situation of this Garden.

And, saith *Moses*, *The Name of the first River is PISON, which encompasseth the whole Land of Havilah, where there is Gold.* Now, as the Land of *Havilah* [3], who was the Son of *Cush*, the eldest Son of *Ham*, was the Habitation afterwards of the Sons of *Ismael* [4], it is manifestly described to extend from *Assyria* to *Shur*, which is before *Egypt*; therefore it is plain, that the River *Pison*, which encompassed that Part of the Globe that was afterwards called the Land of *Havilah*, lay to the Westward of the present River *Euphrates*, as well as of that Country which is now called *Assyria*. But the Face of the World hath been so much altered by the Deluge, that there is not at present the least Trace to be found of the Course in which this River then ran.

And the Name of the second River is GIHON: the same is that which compasseth the whole Land of CUSH. Now, as we are informed in the Book of *Esther*, that *Abasuerus*, King of *Persia*, reigned from *India* to

[3] Gen. ii. 7.

[4] Gen. xxv. 18.

Cush [5], therefore we are also certain, as *India* lay to the East of *Persia*, or of the Kingdom of *Abasuerus*, that the Land of *Cush* must have somewhere bordered on *Persia* towards the West, and probably towards the South-west; because it appeareth from *Jer. xiii. 23.* that the *Cushites* were black, or at least deep tawny coloured. For, says the Prophet, *Can the CUSHITE (so it is in the Original) change his Skin or the Leopard his Spots, then may ye also do Good who are accustomed to do Evil.* And, therefore, probably *Arabia Felix* was a Part of the Dominions of *Cush*. But of this River, any more than of the River *Pison*, there are no Traces to be found at present.

And the Name of the third River is *HIDDEKEL*: that is it which goeth to the East of *Assyria*. There is nothing certain about the Course of this River, but what is here mentioned, that it went to the East of *Assyria*, and of Consequence fell into the River *Euphrates* from the Eastward.

And the fourth is *EUPHRATES*. This River is, in the Original, called *Pherat*, or *Phrat*, and is the same Word which in several Parts of Scripture denotes that River which is now known by the Name of the River *Euphrates*; but whether the present River *Euphrates* runneth in the same Channels with that River of the same Name which was before the Flood, or whether its Course hath not been something changed by the Alterations which were made on the Face of the Globe by the Deluge, cannot possibly be ascertained: However, the Probability is, from the *Mosaical* Description of the Places where the Rivers of *Eden* ran, that the *Phrat* of *Eden* did not run at any great Distance from the Situation of the present River *Euphrates*. And from the whole put together, it is plain, that the River *Euphrates*, or *Phrat*, was that

[5] In our *English* Translation it is said, that *Abasuerus* reigned from *India* even unto *Æthiopia*. But this is a Mistake, for in the Original it is unto *Cush*. *Esh. i. 1. 8, 9.*

which formed the main Branch of the Rivers that furrounded the Garden of *Eden*, two of the Rivers having run into it from the West, and one, *viz.* the River *Hiddekel*, from the East. And as there are now no such Rivers to be found as *Pison*, *Gihon*, and *Hiddekel*, it is more than probable that these are the Names which these Rivers were known by before the Flood of *Noah*. And therefore, it is also probable, that, according to this Description, the Place where the Garden of *Eden* stood, is now under Water in that Part of the *Persian* Gulph which lieth to the East of *Arabia Felix*. It is, however, manifest, from the positive mention of these four Rivers before the Deluge, that there must have been Inequalities of Ground on the Face of the Earth; both to give the Rivers a general Descent towards the Sea, and to form their Channels. Which Channels may have been originally formed by the Water of the Sea, when, upon the first diurnal Motion of this Earth round its own Axis, the Waters flew from the Poles towards the Equator; where they would carry some of the loose Mud along with them, and would of Consequence leave vacant Interstices between the more firm and solid Parts of the Earth, according to the original Designation of the great Author of Nature; which might afterwards serve as Channels for the subsequent Rivers to flow in, and which should all run in one Direction, that is, towards the Equator.

That there hath been a very great and supernatural Alteration in the Face of this terraqueous Globe, since the Time of its Creation, both Reason and Revelation seem to agree in. But, as Messieurs *Buffon* and *le Cat* think, that nothing, except a bare Deluge of Water, hath happened, but what may be naturally accounted for, it may not be an unentertaining, nor an unimproving Subject for your Lordship, to enquire a little further into it.

Monsieur Buffon [6] seemeth, indeed, to be led into this Error by the Imagination that *Moses* only mentioneth a Deluge of Water, for otherwise, sayeth he, “there must have been a double Miracle; the first, “in the wonderful Increase of the Waters; and the “second, in the Transportation of Shells all over “the Earth: Whereas, *Moses* only maketh mention “of the first.” He therefore attempteth to account for the present Depth of the Seas, and the Height of the Mountains, from natural Causes, as I have already mentioned in Letter II. Page 232.

That *Moses* chiefly mentions the first of these, that is, the Deluge of Waters, is certainly true; because, his principal Design was to give an Account of the wonderful Preservation of *Noah* and his Family, at a Time when there was so general a Destruction of the human Species: But it is certain, that he speaketh of the other also: For, he doth not only say, that *the Rain was upon the Earth*; but also, that [7] *the Windows of Heaven were opened, and the Fountains of the Abyss were broken up*. And herein consisted the double Miracle. Which is thus explained in the Book of *Job*, when speaking of this same Catastrophe, the Author of it sayeth in the Name of God: [8] *Who shut up the Sea with Doors, when it brake forth as if it had issued out of a Womb? When I made the Cloud the Garment thereof, and thick Darknes a Swadling Band for it, AND BRAKE UP FOR IT MY DECREED PLACE, and set Bars and Doors, and said, Hitherto shalt thou come and no further: and here shall thy proud Waves be stayed.*

As therefore the first Miracle consisted in the great Quantity of Rain, and of the Waters of the Sea which flowed over the Earth, when it brake forth as if it had issued out of a Womb; so did the second

[6] Buffon, Vol. I. p. 200, &c.

[7] Gen. vii. 11.

[8] Job xxxviii. 8—11.

Miracle consist in shutting up the Sea for the future with Bars and Doors ; which was effected by *breaking up the Place* which God had decreed for it to abide in, and scattered that Mixture of Earth and Water, which was taken out of this decreed Place, in raising Mountain upon Mountain over the Face of the now habitable World, when the *Windows*, or rather *Cata-racts, of Heaven were opened.*

But as *Messieurs Buffon* and *le Cat* both agree in endeavouring to account for the Origin of Mountains by natural Means, from the Force of Winds and Tides, therefore, in order to enable your Lordship to consider the due Weight of this Argument, it may not be improper, in the first Place, to give you some Account of the Origin both of Winds and Tides ; which I the more willingly do, because I have never yet met with any satisfactory Account given of the latter. I shall, therefore, first begin with the Winds, which are the easiest to account for ; being nothing more than the natural Effect of the Action of the Beams of the Sun on the Air, as he passeth every Day over the Ocean, when considered together with the Nature of the Soil, and the Situation of the adjoining Continents.

For as, by the Laws of Staticks, all Fluids naturally tend to an *Equilibrium*, and as the Sun by its Heat rarefies that Portion of Air, which is immediately under the Influence of its Beams, more than it does that, which is at a greater Distance ; therefore, the more distant Air, which is less rarefied and expanded by the Heat, and of Consequence more ponderous, will continually press upon the rarefied, and less ponderous Particles of Air, in order to bring them to an *Equilibrium*. And, as the Earth in its diurnal Rotation round its own Axis, moveth continually from West to East, therefore the immediate Heat of the Sun, rarefying the Particles of Air which pass directly under it, will occasion a constant

Pressure of the less rarefied Particles in a continued Course from East to West, in the same Direction, and for the same Reasons as the Sun seemeth to move that Way. Although it is not the Sun by moving from East to West, but the Earth by moving from West to East, which causeth that Appearance; just as Persons sitting in a Ship, when under Sail, imagine it is the Land that moveth backwards, and not the Ship that moveth forwards; or, as *Virgil* expresseth it,

Provehimur portu, terræque urbisque recedunt.

And thus it is that a general Easterly Wind is formed, which would of Consequence be equable and regular, if this Globe was equally covered over with Water, as Messieurs *Buffon* and *le Cat* allow it to have been at the Creation. For then, as there would be no Lands or Mountains to disturb the Regularity of its Motions, the Air under the Equator would always have one constant Flow from East to West, and on the North Side of the Equator would, at some Distance from thence from thence, blow from the North-East, and on the South Side of the Equator from the South-East. And as this would affect the whole Atmosphere, as far as the Poles themselves, it would, towards the Polar Circles, occasion a contrary Current of Air, or an Eddy Wind from West to East; as is easily observed in any River, where the violent Motion of the Stream in the Middle of the River, occasioneth an Eddy, or contrary Current on both Sides, which moveth in a Direction contrary to that of the Stream in the Middle. And, as it manifestly doth in those Seas at present which are any ways large; as for Example, in the *Atlantick* or *Pacifick* Oceans, where the Galleons that sail from *Aquapulco* towards the *Philippine* Islands, make towards the Equator in their Passage thither, in order to get into the Trade, or Easterly, Wind; and in their

Return

Return [9] make towards the Northern Pole, in order to fall in with a Westerly Wind. In like Manner, those Ships which sail from *Europe* to *America*, always make Southward in their Passage thither, and come North about in their Return Home.

And, in this Manner would the whole Atmosphere be constantly and regularly moved, without any Storms or Tempests, or Hurricanes, while the Body of this terrestrial Globe continued covered over with Water; and therefore, such a Disposition of Air, as this, would never agitate the Waters sufficiently to contribute to the first Formation of Mountains, as *Messieurs Buffon* and *le Cat* imagine it to have done.

And although we should suppose the terrestrial Part of this Globe to have been left bare on the third Day of the Creation, by the gathering together of the Waters in one Place, according to the *Mosaical* Account; yet, as the Inequalities on the Face of the Earth were then but small, and insignificant, there would still have been a constant calm Serenity of Air, attended with a refreshing Breeze at Noon Day, just sufficient to allay the burning Heat of the Sun. The Clouds would float unbroken in the Atmosphere until being saturated with Vapours, they would drop their Morning and their Evening Dews; and at certain Seasons, when over glutted with Moisture, they would fructify the Earth with a former and a latter Rain.

But when the Fountains of the great Abyss were broken up, and an immense Hollow was excavated out of the Earth from Pole to Pole, as a Bed for the Sea, to lie in, and to detain it as with Bars and Bolts within certain Bounds; when the Rocks, and the Sands, and the Shells, and the Earth, that were taken thereout, were thrown upon the Land, and raised in Mountain upon Mountain, so as to assail the

[9] See *Anson's Voyage*.

Skies, and invade the Reign of the Clouds ; when this heterogeneous Mixture of Elements began to ferment, and by their Fermentation to produce *Volcanos* ; when Promontories, and Capes, and Head-Lands, started up in irregular Order, and the equal Disposition of the Sea along the Equator were interrupted and discontinued by the Interposition of great Continents of Land ; when the Sun did not always pass over one smooth Surface of Sea, but sometimes over Sea, sometimes over frozen Mountains, and sometimes over burning Sands ; then variable Winds arose, and Cloud encountering Cloud, produced Thunders and Lightnings, Storms and Tempests, which were unknown until after the Deluge, and of all which terrible Effects, Mountains were the Cause, but not the Consequence ; as *Messieurs Buffon* and *le Cat* would suppose them to have been.

And here, my Lord, I shall take an Opportunity of explaining a Phænomenon, which hath not yet been accounted for to my own Satisfaction. The Phænomenon is this : That between the Tropicks, notwithstanding the Trade-Winds that constantly blow there, when Persons are in a Ship within three or four Leagues of the Land, unless it be near some Head-Land or high Promontory, they always meet with Land-Breezes by Night, which blow right out from the Land into the Sea, whether it lieth to the East, West, North, or South ; and by Day they meet with Sea-Breezes, which have just the contrary Current, and blow right in upon the Land. So that if it be an Island, as for Example, the Island of *Jamaica*, the Wind bloweth by Night out of the Middle of the Island, as from a Centre, into the Sea, towards all Points of the Compass, at the same Time ; and in the Day Time, *vice versa*, the Wind sets in from the Sea upon the Land, as to a Center, from every Part of the encircling Element.

This

This Matter of Fact is particularly taken Notice of, and confirmed by *Dampier*, in his Voyages; who adds, that the Land-Breeze is much colder than the Sea-Breeze; and that the hottest Time of the Day in those Places, is from Nine to Eleven of the Clock in the Morning, between the Time of the two Breezes, when it is generally calm.

The Reason of all which is this: That, although the Terrestrial Part of the Globe is, from its Solidity, less susceptible of Heat, and is of Consequence colder than the Aquatick, which is one of the Causes why the Land-Breeze, as *Dampier* observeth, is colder than the Sea-Breeze, yet is the Earth, from the Roughness of its Surface, and the Disposition of its outward Parts, more easily heated by the immediate Rays of the Sun, which it imbibes, than the Sea, whose polished Surface reflects them; and when once heated, rises, from its Solidity, to a greater Degree of Heat, than the Water of the Sea is capable of.

That the Land is colder than the Sea, is experimentally manifest, from the Continuance of Frost and Snow on the Mid-land, when it will not lie on or near the Shore. And that the Land in the same Climate, is hotter in Summer, in Proportion to its Distance from the Sea, is likewise manifest, from undoubted Experience; the Fruits of the Earth being burnt up within Land, at the same Time that there is an agreeable Verdure on, or near the Coasts of the Sea.

Which Things being thus premised, the Land and Sea Breezes before-mentioned, are easily accounted for. For let us but suppose the Sun to arise in the Morning, on any Island between the Tropicks, which having in the preceding Night, during the Absence of the Sun, grown cold, and chilled its encircling Atmosphere, and condensed all the Air, which came within the Power of its Influence, to a Degree of

Cold greater than that of the Air which blew at Sea ; the Sun, upon its Approach at Sun-rise, would warm the Land, until its Atmosphere came to an equal Degree of Heat with the Air at Sea, and then, from the Equilibrium of the two Atmospheres, a Calm would ensue, which might continue until towards 11 o'Clock, when the Heat of the Sun would be almost insupportable ; at which Time the Sun, by its continual Approach, having raised the Land, together with its incumbent Atmosphere, to a Degree of Warmth greater than what the Sea, with its Atmosphere, was capable of being excited to, then the Air at Sea, being less heated, and of Consequence heavier than the Air at Land, would continually press from all Sides on the Air at Land, in order to bring it to an Equilibrium ; which would occasion a continued Draught, or refreshing Breeze of Air from the Sea towards the Land, while the violent Effect of the Heat of the Sun continued upon the Island : But as that Heat decreased, by the Departure and Decline of the Sun, then the Equilibrium of the two Atmospheres, being again restored, would produce a second Calm in the Evening, until the Atmosphere of the Island grew colder than the Atmosphere of the Sea, which it would do in some Time after the Departure of the Sun, when the Earth being returned to its natural Cold and Chilness, would condense its encircling Atmosphere ; which would in its Turn press upon the warmer, and of Consequence lighter, Air of the Sea, and would occasion a continual Draught or Breeze of Air from the Land, towards the Sea, on every Side of the Island.

And the Reason why this Draught or Breeze of Air is not felt near Head-Lands or high Promontories, is, because the Motion of the Air upon this Occasion, is too gentle to force its Way over high Hills ; but, as Mr. *Dampiere* observes, glides gently along the Surface of the Earth, and is conducted in
Currents

Currents through the Vales and lower Interstices of Ground, that lie between the Hills, and from thence steals out upon the Sea.

In my next, I shall consider the Theory of the Tides.

And here it may not be improper to explain another Phænomenon to your Lordship, which depends much upon the same Kind of Reasoning. And that is, the constant, and regular, Overflowings of the *Nile*; which hath hitherto occasioned so much Admiration, and is always attended with a cooling, and refreshing Wind from the North, some Time before the *Nile* begins to rise, and overflow its Banks. That is, the Northern Winds begin to blow in *May*, and the River *Nile* begins to rise in *June*. The Reason of which is this: That the Sun, as he approacheth the Northern Tropick, produceth an extraordinary Degree of Heat in those Climates over which he vertically passeth; which occasions a Draught of Air from the more cold, and of Consequence more ponderous, Particles of the more distant Air. And as it is in the Month of *June*, that the Sun comes into the Sign of *Cancer*, or the Northern Tropick, the Air is then at the greatest Degree of Heat that it ever ariseth to in this Northern Hemisphere, and therefore the Air from the North is most powerfully attracted at that Time; but as the Approach of the Sun is gradual, its attractive Power begins to take Effect before it comes to its full Height, and therefore causeth the Northern Draught of Air into *Egypt* to commence in the Month of *May*.

And the Reason, why the Overflowings of the *Nile* constantly begin in the Month of *June*, is, because the rainy Season in the several Climates within the Tropicks always happens when the Sun is nearest to them, that is, when he is exactly over their Heads; at which Time there being a constant Draught of Air towards that Place from all Parts, East, West, North

North and South, this occasions sometimes stinking and offensive Calms; and, as by this Means the Clouds are driven together from all Parts into this one Place, this also frequently occasions such a Concurrence of combustible Matter, as produceth violent, and dreadful Storms of Thunder and Lightning; at which Time the Clouds being also overloaded with watery Vapours, discharge their Burthens in such Cataracts of Rain, that the most violent Showers which are ever seen in the temperate Regions, are, when compared thereto, but gentle and refreshing Rains.

And as it is in the Month of *June*, that the Sun comes into the Sign of *Cancer*; or, which is the same Thing, as it is in the Month of *June* that the Sun makes its nearest Approach to *Egypt*; therefore as it passeth over *Abyssinia* in its Way towards *Egypt*, having filled the Rivers of that Country with Water, the Overflowings thereof must of Consequence follow the Course of the River, and tumble down into *Egypt*.

And as the Sun, when it is come to the Northern Tropick, then returns back again to the South, therefore the Rains being still continued in *Abyssinia* upon the Return of the Sun, as well as upon its Approach, the Overflowings of the *Nile* must of Consequence continue to encrease, till the Sun hath repassed those Mountains in *Abyssinia*, which supply the River *Nile* with its Waters.

Now the Reason, why this appears odd to us, is, because that in these Northern Regions the driest and most pleasant Seasons of the Year is that of Summer, when the Sun comes nearest to us. But to those Inhabitants of this Globe, who live between the Tropicks, it is the Reverse. The pleasantest and driest Season of the Year to them, being when the Sun is at the greatest Distance; and their worst, most stormy, and rainy Season, when the Sun is vertically
over

over them [1]. At which Time they were not only liable to be distressed by stagnating and noisome Calms, but also by violent Claps of Thunder and Lightning, which are frequently succeeded with such Torrents of Rain, and Turnados, and Hurricanes of Wind, as are utterly unknown in these more temperate Regions.

Whence it is, that the Summer Season, to those who live between the Tropicks, but on the North Side of the Equator, is when the Sun is in the South; and to the Southern Inhabitants, between the Tropicks, the Summer Season is, when the Sun is in the North.

Hence also the most disagreeable Parts, in those Countries to live in, are near the Tropicks; as the Sun makes the longest Stay there at one Time. Whence this Situation of the Sun is called the *Solstice*, because between the Time of the Approach of the Sun to the Tropick, and its Return from thence, it seems to be *at a Stand*. And the least offensive Parts to live in are directly under, or near, the Equator; where the Inhabitants have two Summers, and two Winters, every Year; if any Part of the Year may be called Winter to them; their wet Season, that is when the Sun is directly over their Heads, being of no long Continuance.

[1] *Dampier's Voyages.*

LETTER VIII.

MY LORD,

HAVING in my last Letter considered the Nature and Effects of constant and variable Winds, we come now to enquire into the Phænomenon

non of the Tides, and to see how far they could have contributed to the Formation of Mountains. And, in order to let you understand the present Theory of the Tides, in which our modern Philosophers, and *Monf. Buffon* [2] among the rest, all agree, I shall give it you, as nearly as I can, in *Mr. Whiston's* [3] own Words. Which are these. “ If any of the
 “ Heavenly Bodies be placed near a Planet, by the
 “ Inequality of its Attraction of the Parts at unequal
 “ Distances from it, a double Tide or Elevation of
 “ the Fluids, thereto belonging, must certainly arise;
 “ and the diurnal Rotation of such a Planet being
 “ supposed, must cause such a Flux and Reflux of the
 “ said Fluids, as our Ocean is now agitated by.
 “ (See Plate I. Fig. 2.) Thus, if you suppose
 “ A, D, B, C, to be the Earth, and E, to be an
 “ Heavenly Body placed near the same, the Heaven-
 “ ly Body will considerably more attract the near
 “ Parts about B, than it does those about the Line
 “ D, C, or the middle Parts of the Earth; by which
 “ Attraction, whenever the Particles attracted are
 “ not solid, fixed, and immoveable, they will be ele-
 “ vated or raised into the Protuberance, D, B, C.”
 (And so far he is right, but now comes false Reason-
 ing.) “ In like Manner, the Heavenly Body, E,
 “ will considerably more attract the middle Parts,
 “ near the Line, D, C, than those more remote, at
 “ A, and thereby occasion their slower Motion to-
 “ wards itself, than that of the aforesaid middle
 “ Parts, and consequently permit them to remain
 “ further off the Center; or, which is all one, to ele-
 “ vate themselves in the opposite Protuberance,
 “ D, A, C. And so must cause a double Tide, or
 “ Elevation of the Fluids of the Globe. And this
 “ double Tide, by the diurnal Rotation of the Earth,
 “ from West to East, will shift continually from East

[2] *Buffon*, Vol. I. p. 432.
Earth, B. I. p. 66.

[3] *Whiston's Theory of the*

“ to West, and cause the Elevation and Depression of
 “ the Ocean, twice each Revolution, which we so won-
 “ der at, and take so much Notice of among us.”

And indeed, it would be strange, if we should not wonder at so odd a Phænomenon as this, which cannot be supported either by Reason or Experiment. For altho’ it be true that the celestial Body, E, would attract the Parts of the Fluid at B, more strongly than it doth those about the Line, D, C, by which Means they would be elevated or raised into the Protuberance, D, B, C; yet it is by no Means true, that, because it attracts the middle Parts, near the Line, D, C, stronger than it does those which are more remote, about A, it will therefore permit them to remove further off from the Center, X, and to elevate themselves into the opposite Protuberance, D, A, C.

For although the Heavenly Body E, will permit the Particles at A, by Virtue of its less powerful Attraction at A, than at D, C, to remain at a greater Distance from itself, that is, from its own Center at E, than it will permit the Particles at D, C, to do; yet by the well known Laws of Hydrostaticks, it will certainly draw the fluid Particles at A, nearer to the Center X, than they were before. Because the Particles at A, are now drawn towards X, with a greater Force than if we suppose the Body E, to be absent as they are now drawn towards X, with the united Forces both of X, and E. And instead of forming the Protuberance D, A, C, in Plate I. Fig. 2. they will form the flatter Curvature of D, A, C, in Plate V. Fig. 1. So that this Method of Reasoning will only account for the Elevation of Tides, here on Earth, once every Twenty-four Hours, instead of twice. And therefore we must have Recourse to some other Method of Reasoning, in order to account for our double Tides.

Which we shall not find difficult to do, when we suppose the Body X, with its encircling Fluid, A, D,
 B, C.

B, C, see Plate VI. Fig. 2. to revolve about the Body E. For then by the known Effects of the centrifugal Force, the fluid Parts belonging to the Body X, would continually endeavour to fly off from the Center, at E, and if not hindered by some other Power, would by that Means throw the fluid A, D, B, C, into the reverse Protuberance of D, A, C, as represented in Plate V. Fig. 2.

But as, in order to preserve any Body in a circular Motion, it hath been observed, that there are two Motions necessary, which are called the centripetal and centrifugal Forces, acting nearly equal, and contrary to one another; and as this latter would form the Protuberance D, A, C, (see Plate V. Fig. 2.) so would the former, or the centripetal or attractive Force of the Body E, draw the Fluid into the Protuberance D, B, C. See Plate V. Fig. 1. And of Consequence, the Body X, with its encircling Fluid, A, B, C, D, would move about the Body E, in the Figure of an Ellipsis, with its longer Axis towards the Body E; as in Plate I. Fig. 2. And then, by having a diurnal Motion communicated to it, every Part of the Body X, would, in the Space of twenty-four Hours, or at each Revolution round its own Center, meet with two Elevations, and two Depressions of the Waters, and of Consequence would have double Tides.

Which accordingly would have been the Case of this terraqueous Globe, during the three first Days after its Creation, if it had then an annual Motion about the Sun, before the Formation of the Moon upon the fourth Day. But when that Luminary was created, then the Doctrine of the Tides became more complex, as the encircling Fluid of the Body X, would be affected by two different celestial Bodies instead of one; and as the Influence which the attractive Power of the Moon hath upon the Earth, on Account of its Vicinity thereto, is above six
Times

Times [4] greater, than that of the Sun, the Combination or Contrariety of these Forces, will occasion very different Effects.

We must therefore consider, that as soon as the Moon was created, the Earth could not move in the same Circle about the Sun as it did before, because, when any two Bodies that are united or depend upon one another, move round a third Body, the Center of their Motion cannot be in the Center of either of those two Bodies, but in a Center common to them both, (See Plate VI. Fig. 1.) which is distant from each of their Centers, in an inverse Proportion to that of their Bulk or Weight : as for Example, Suppose the two Bodies A and C, were to revolve round the Body F, and their common Center, in Proportion to their Bulks, was at B; then the Body A, would move in the Circle I, A, K, while the Body C, moved in the Circle G, C, H, round their common Center B. At the same Time that they were both carried round the Body F, by their common Center B, in the Circle D, B, E. And as this Earth is about fifty Times larger than the Moon, therefore the common Center of the joint Motion of these two Bodies about the Sun, must be about fifty Times nearer the Center of this Earth, than it is to the Center of the Moon. And hence it is, that the Earth doth not only move once a Year round the Sun, and once a Day round its own Axis, but also once a Month round the common Center between it and the Moon; which lies at the Distance of about two thousand Miles on the Outside of the Surface of this Earth towards the Moon. By which Means, the Water on this Earth will constantly be actuated by a centrifugal Force from this Center, in direct Opposition to the attractive Power of the Moon.

[4] The attractive Power of the Moon upon this Earth is to that of the Sun, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, as $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

And

And as the Revolution of the Earth and Moon round this Center, is performed in the Space of a Month [5]; or thereabouts; therefore twice in every Month, when the two Forces of the Sun and Moon unite, as they do at the Full and Changes of the Moon, then the Tides must be highest; and when they act at right Angles to each other, as they will in all the Quadratures of the Moon, then the Tides will be lowest.

So that there are, in Reality, four Tides of Flood, and four of Ebb; two occasioned by the Sun, and two by the Moon, in every four-and-twenty Hours, as may be seen by the annexed Diagram, (Plate VII.) Where the Moon, being represented in the Quadrature and at the Full, plainly shews the Natural Effects which will be produced by these Planets in those Situations, with regard to the Waters on the Earth. And although there appear to be but two Tides of Flood, at the Time of the Change and of the Full, because the centrifugal and centripetal Forces of all these Bodies are then united to produce this Effect; yet, in Reality, it is otherwise. For, at the Time of the Change of the Moon, the attractive Forces of the Sun and Moon are united, and the centrifugal Forces of the Earth, from the Sun and Moon, are also united: Whereas, at the Time of the Full, the attractive Force of the Sun is united to the centrifugal Force of the Earth from the Moon, and the attractive Power of the Moon is united with the centrifugal Force of the Earth from the Sun, which will produce the same Effect with the other. So that the four Tides continue to act as much at this Time, as at others, but the Forces of both Sun and Moon and Earth, acting in one and the same Line of Direction, make the Appearance to be as if there were but two

[5] The exact Time of this Revolution is 29 Days, 12 Hours, 45 Minutes.

high Tides of Flood, and two of Ebb, which are commonly called *Spring Tides*.

I know it is also objected by some, that, when the Moon is in its Quadrature, there will not be four Tides of Flood as in the annexed Diagram, "*because, say they, the Force of the Sun being but small, in Comparison with that of the Moon, will be destroyed.*" Which I allow to be true in Appearance, but not in Reality. For the Force of the Sun, although small, being little more than a sixth Part of the Force of the Moon, will nevertheless continue to act; but being over-powered by the stronger Tide of Ebb, made by the Moon at D, and C, the visible Effect to us, will be as a less violent Tide of Ebb, or what we call a *Nipe-Tide*. And the Tides of Flood, made by the Moon at A, and B, being counteracted by the Tides of Ebb belonging to the Sun, at the same Places, will also rise less high than they would otherwise, and will of Consequence produce *Nipe-Tides* of Flood. However, from the Combination or Contrariety of these Tides, made by the Sun, and Moon, at different Periods of the Moon's Age, together with an Allowance for the different Inclination of the Moon's Orbit, to that of the Earth's annual Orbit about the Sun, and some other Astronomical Niceties; together with the Situation of particular Places, with Regard to Capes and Promontories, &c. which may produce particular Winds and Currents, the whole System of the various Phænomena of the Tides may be easily accounted for.

Which Tides, during the Continuance of the Form of the Earth, in its first Condition after the Creation, either while the Sea overspread the Earth, or when it was gathered together *in one Place*, under the Equator, would be always equable, constant and regular, and therefore but little qualified for the Formation of Mountains. Or, if they had thrown

up some Heaps of Sand, these would have been at the utmost Verge of their Waves from the Equator; which Heaps would have been formed in regular Circles, still widening, in Proportion as the Waves which formed them retired from the Poles of the Earth, according to the Form in Plate VIII. Fig. 1.

Whereas it is manifest, that those Mountains, which now cover the Face of the Earth, do not lie in any such regular Directions; but are, on the contrary, very irregular in their Disposition and Situation; and that, as Monsieur *Buffon* himself observes, the Range of the Mountains in *Europe* and *Africa*, run from East to West, and in *America*, from North to South.

In short, to make this Affair of the Generation of Mountains, and indeed the whole *Mosaical* System, with Regard to the Deluge, the more clear, the best Way will be, in Imitation of Monsieur *Buffon*, to lay down certain Matters of Facts; which may serve as a proper Foundation for our Reasoning. And that I may not be thought partial to my own System, I shall collect these Matters of Fact out of Monsieur *Buffon*, who, though I will not allow him, by any Means, to be a good Reasoner, may, nevertheless, be allowed to be a good Collector of Observations.

First then, he observes, that when we dig to that Depth, where we may suppose the Surface of this Earth was, when there were no Mountains, but all this World was an uniform Globe, covered with Water, (as at the Creation) then the *Strata* are uniform, and the several Layers of them, whether Sand, Clay, Minerals, or Gravel, are disposed in an Horizontal Position, parallel to one another [6].

Secondly, he observes, that in neighbouring Mountains, the same Materials are to be found in Beds that lie upon a Level, the one with the other [7].

[6] *Buffon*, Vol. I. p. 75. 89. 304. [7] *Id.* p. 76.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, that in neighbouring Mountains, the Swellings in the Sides of the one answer generally to the Cavities in the corresponding Sides of the other [8].

Fourthly, that in Marble Quarries and rocky Mountains, there are frequently Hollows and Clefts, that are all perpendicular to the Horizon, or but a little inclined therefrom; and that the Dip of the Quarry within, generally answers to the Inclination of the Mountain without [9].

Fifthly, that several Islands seem manifestly to be composed of parallel and similar *Strata*, to those of the neighbouring Continent [1].

Sixthly, that the Depth of the Sea is generally proportionate to the Height of the adjoining Land [2].

Seventhly, that the Chain or Range of the Hills in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, runs generally from East to West; but in *America*, from North to South [3].

Eighthly, that the present Surface of this habitable Earth, is not the original one; and that, in the Bodies of our Mountains, there is an irregular Mixture of Materials, where sometimes Earth and Fossils of a lighter Composition, are lower down than those which are in themselves heavier [4].

And Lastly, he observes, that the Plants peculiar to the *Indies*, are found petrified in *France*, and the Shells that are now not to be found Northward of the Mediterranean Sea, are scattered over the most distant Regions of the Earth [5]. And that among these Fossils, the Shells and Skeletons of Fish are to be found, both entire and petrified, not only near the Surface, on the Summit of the highest Moun-

[8] Buffon, Vol. I. p. 76. 106. 451. 552.

[9] Id. p. 76. 106.

[1] Id. p. 252.

[2] Id. p. 73. 310, 311. 442.

[3] Id. p. 90.

[4] Id. p. 75.

[5] Id. p. 306.

tains, and in Places of the greatest Distances from the Sea, but in the Heart of the Mountains, and in the Bowels of the Earth. And that those Sea-shells which are scattered over the Face of the whole Earth, and are dug out of Mountains, at the greatest Distance from the Sea, are not only sometimes petrified, but are also sometimes incorporated into the very Body of the Marble itself, and are turned into the Nature of the Quarry with which they are environed [3]. He makes, indeed, a Kind of Exception to this Observation, in one Particular, and Remarks, that he never found any Sea-shells in Rocks that were composed of a brown Grit [4]; whereas I can myself relieve him in this Particular, and contribute to enforce the Truth of the Generality of his Observation: Having now by me several very fair Specimens of petrified Cockles, and other marine Shells, which I had chizzled out of a Rock of brown Grit, not far from *Bath*, although a considerable Distance from the Valley below, being high up, near Midway on the Hill, in the old Road leading from *Bath* to *Lansdown*.

Having now laid down these Matters of Fact, although they will serve in general as so many Propositions, of undeniable Truth, on which we may lay the Foundation of our Argumentation; yet, in reasoning from thence, we ought to consider the Power of God, in the historical Account given by *Moses*, as well of the Deluge, as of the Creation, as being of a mixed Nature, partly natural, and partly super-natural. So that while we, as Philosophers, deduce certain Effects from their natural Causes, and argue from some Causes to the Production of certain Effects; yet, when we are convinced of the Truth of certain Effects, which we cannot account for by natural Means, there Religion ought to interpose, in

[3] Buffon, Vol. I. p. 83.

[4] Id. p. 277.

prevailing on us to acknowledge the supernatural Interposition of the divine Power.

As for Example, at the Time of the Creation, although we have accounted naturally for the gathering together of the Sea, into one Place, and the Appearance of the Earth on the third Day, by the Revolution of this World round its own Axis; yet the speedy Growth of Plants and Fruits, for the Support of the Animal Part of the Creation, and the drying of the Earth, so as to make it fit for the Reception and Support both of Man and Beast, on the sixth Day, must be attributed to the supernatural Operations of God's Almighty Power. And in like Manner, the very Preservation of the Ark, which was a flat-bottomed Vessel of three hundred Cubits in Length, and fifty Cubits broad, and thirty Cubits high, must be looked upon as a miraculous Thing, in so disturbed a Sea as this Earth was covered with, at the Time of the Deluge. Again, if the breaking up of the Fountains of the great Deep, and the excavating this terrestrial Globe, in order to make that hollow Channel for the Sea, in that irregular Form in which it now subsists, cannot be accounted for by any natural Means; I do not think it in the least unbecoming a Philosopher, to attribute this to the wonderful Power of God. Again, if there is no accounting by the Operation of natural Causes, for the Production of those exalted Mountains, which now cover the Face of the habitable World, I do not think it unbecoming a Philosopher, to attribute their Origin to the wonderful Power of God; and to suppose that the same Almighty Being, which scooped out the Bed of the Sea, should dispose of the Materials taken from thence in Hills and Mountains, on the Surface of the Earth. The Disposition of which, although seemingly irregular to us, is the Effect of great Wisdom, as may be seen by any one who will

be but at the Pains of making a Draught of the Rivers, together with all their Branches, which supply any one of the Kingdoms of this Earth with Water. Which when he does, he will find all the various Ramifications thereof, as beautifully and wisely disposed for the Use and Benefit of the Inhabitants thereof, as the Ramifications of the Veins and Arteries in the human Body, are, comparatively speaking, adapted for the well-being of Man.

And, as this beautiful Disposition of the Rivers which water the Earth, is the Effect of the Situation of the Mountains, which turn and twist the several Branches of those Rivers to their proper Destination, I own I cannot attribute the Formation of these Mountains to the uncertain Effects of Storms and Tempests, but to the immediate Interposition of the infinite Power, and infinite Wisdom of God; as it is beautifully described by the Prophet *Isaiah*, when speaking of the Operations of God, he saith, *Who hath measured the Waters in the Hollow of his Hand, and meted out Heaven with a Span; and comprehended the Dust of the Earth in a Measure, and weighed out the Mountains in Scales, and the Hills in a Ballance.*

Which will still appear more plain, when we come to compare the two Systems with the several Matters of Fact before alledged, that I have borrowed from Monsieur *Buffon*, and in the Truth of which Observations I thoroughly agree with him. Which shall be the Subject of my next Letter.

LETTER IX.

MY LORD,

IN this Letter, which I have now the Honour of writing to your Lordship, we are to compare the two Systems with the several Observations before agreed upon.

As to the first and second of which Observations, as I think they make equally both for Monsieur *Buffon's* System and mine, I need not here repeat them. But we differ very widely in our Reasonings, with Regard to the third Observation, which is this: That in neighbouring Mountains, the Swellings in the Sides of the one, answer generally to the Cavities in the corresponding Sides of the other. For, whereas, he produceth this as an Argument in Favour of his System, by urging the Shape of the Banks of Rivers, which are generally indented in such a Manner, as that the Swellings of one Bank answer to the Cavities of the opposite Bank; and therefore maketh Use of this Method of Reasoning, to prove that these Mountains were formed by the Force of the Tides; I cannot but think, that this Argument, instead of proving what he would maintain, maketh strongly against him.

Because he should have considered that the Reason why one Side of the River is concave, where the opposite Side is protuberant, arises from the Inequality of the Hardness or Solidity in the opposite Banks of the River. Whereas, Monsieur *Buffon* hath, in the foregoing Observations, acknowledged the opposite Sides of the neighbouring Mountains, at equal Heights, to be in *Strata*, or Layers, of an equal

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Consistency,

Consistency. Now, it is manifest, that when Water issueth out of a Fountain, or Spring, or a Wave is urged by the Wind and Tide from the Sea, that they would move in straight Lines directly forward, if not impeded by some Force greater than their own; when therefore they move out of a streight Line, and make an Impression in one Place, which they could not in another, it must arise from hence, that the Place where they make the Impression is weaker, and less solid than that Part which hath withstood their Force. And hence arise the Twistings, and crooked Turnings of Rivers, according as they meet with more or less Resistance from the two different Banks on either Side thereof. And of Consequence, if two neighbouring Mountains could be supposed to have been formed by the Waves of the Sea; the *Strata* of which they were composed, being acknowledged, according to the foregoing Observations, to be of an equal Consistency; the Protuberances of the one would answer the Protuberances of the other, and the Cavities of the one would answer the Cavities of the other. Whereas, if we suppose these Mountains to have been formed by the breaking up of the Fountains of the Abyss, and that the Earth, which was taken out of the decreed Place for the Sea afterwards to flow in, was thrown upon the adjoining Land; as this Heap of Earth, when reversed, and thrown on Land, would occupy a larger Portion of a Circle, that when in its native Bed, it must divide and break into Points towards the Summit, although it should be contiguous towards the Ground. And would thereby form so many neighbouring Mountains, which, although dissevered from each other by this Change of their Situation, yet would the opposite Sides of each, nevertheless, tally together, both in the Materials of the *Strata*, of which they were composed, and in having the Cavities in one Side of the Mountain answer to those Protuberances of the opposite

opposite Mountain from which it had been forcibly torn. As may be seen by the annexed Diagram. See Plate VIII. Fig. 2.

The fourth Observation is, that in Marble Quarries and rocky Mountains, there are frequent Hollows and Clefs that are all perpendicular to the Horizon, or but a little inclined therefrom; and that the Dip of the Quarry within generally answers to the Inclination of the Mountain without. Which is a further Confirmation of the Truth of the foregoing Assertions; for had these Mountains been formed by the Winds and Tides, these Hollows and Cracks would have run in Lines parallel to the several *Strata* of which they were composed, and which in the first Observation are acknowledged to run parallel to the Horizon, and not perpendicular to it.

Whereas, were these Mountains supposed to be forcibly torn out of that Part of the Earth where the Sea now flows, and thrown upon the Land, the Shock they would receive thereby, although it might not be sufficient absolutely to separate them, and to break them into a greater Number of Mountains, yet might be able to make Hollows, and Clefs, and Cracks in them, which would all be perpendicular to the Horizon, but not parallel to it. And for the same Reason, the several rocky Quarries, of which these Mountains are composed, would take their Dip within from the Inclination of the Mountain without; or rather, the Form of the Mountain without would take its Inclination from the Dip of the Quarry within.

The fifth Observation is, that several Islands seem manifestly to be composed of parallel and similar *Strata* to those of the neighbouring Continent. As for Example, that *England*, by comparing the *Strata* in its Rocks with those on the opposite Coast of *France*, seemeth plainly to have been separated from it; and
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in like Manner *Scicily* from *Italy*; and the *Terra del Fuogo* from its neighbouring Continent.

And herein I will appeal to the most unimproved Understanding to determine, whether it is possible for such solid Rocks as those, with which the aforementioned Islands are supplied and furnished, either to have been originally framed, or afterwards forcibly torn asunder, and thrown at such a Distance from the Continent, by the natural Effects of Winds and Tides: And whether this doth not manifestly appear to have been the Work or Effect of some Power more than natural?

The next Observation is, that the Depth of the Sea is generally proportionate to the Height of the adjoining Land. And accordingly he remarks that the Mountains under the Tropics are higher than those in the more temperate Regions, and that correspondent thereto, the Sea is there also proportionately deeper than towards the Poles.

The diurnal Rotation of the Earth round its own Axis, doth indeed furnish us with a Reason why the Sea ought to be deeper between the Tropics than towards the Poles; but no natural Reason whatever can be assigned for that great Inequality of Ground that is formed under the Tropics, between the Depth of the Sea and the Height of the Mountains; nor why there should be any Mountains there at all, except they run in one continued Line from East to West. Reason and Experience both agree, that the Diameter of this Globe of Earth, is longer at the Equator than at or near the Poles; but when the Earth was once equably covered with Water, no Reason can be given why the Mountains near the Equator should ever raise their Heads above the Waves; nor why the Land of *Asia*, as well as *America*, should run in such a Direction as to cross the Equator, and raise itself above the Sea, in a Line nearly at right Angles with the natural Current both of

of Winds and Tides. We must therefore, in order to solve the Difficulty of this Matter of Fact, which cannot be denied, and yet cannot be naturally accounted for, cut the Gordian Knot, and have Recourse to that supernatural Power, which, in breaking up the Fountains of the Abyss, composed these exalted Mountains out of the Materials which were scooped out of the Earth, in order to make a Bed for the Sea, and to confine it to its decreed Place, and to sink it so deep as to prevent its overflowing the Earth again. Which will also account for the first Part of the preceding Observation, wherein it is asserted, that the Depth of the Sea is generally proportionate to the Height of the adjoining Land; or, in other Words, that the Height of those Mountains which border on the Sea, is, in general, proportionate to the Depth of the adjoining Sea, out of which those Mountains were taken.

The seventh Observation is, that the Chain or Range of Hills in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, generally runneth from East to West; but in *America*, from North to South. I believe the real Truth of this Observation is, that the Range of the Hills near any Sea, is generally guided by the Disposition and Extent of the next adjoining Sea out of which they were taken. As for Example, the Mountains bordering on the *Mediterranean* Sea, viz. either the Mountains of the Moon, &c. on the Coast of *Africa*, or those of the *Pyrenees* and *Alps* on the Coast of *Europe*, run in a Line from East to West, because the *Mediterranean* Sea, out of which they were taken, has that Direction; whereas, the Mountains of the *Apennine* in *Italy*, run in a Direction from North to South, because the *Adriatick* Sea, out of which they were taken, hath the like Direction. In like Manner, as the Direction of the Sea on either Side of *America*, is from Pole to Pole, therefore the Mountains that
were

were taken out of it, and thrown upon the Land, lie in a Direction from North to South.

But, whether my Reasoning on this Head be sufficient to establish the *Mosaical* System, or not, it is undoubtedly sufficient to overturn the System established by Monsieur *Buffon*. Because, as he allows this Earth once to have been covered with Water; and as the Swell, which occasions the Tides, dependeth chiefly on the Attraction of the Moon, so must the Current of the Tides have been guided by the Course of the Moon; and therefore, as the Plain of the Moon's Orbit is not very different from the Plain of the Earth's Orbit, the Swell of the Tides under the Equator would run from East to West; but, as they rose or fell, the Tides would, on the North Side of the Tropics, then spread and contract themselves from the Equator towards the Northern Pole, and back again; as they would on the South Side of the Tropics set from the Equator to the South Pole, and back again. And therefore, if these Tides had ever formed any Mountains, these Mountains must have been raised at the utmost Verge of their Waves, where the Water was shallowest, and therefore must have begun to have been raised about the Poles; and as the Sea was by Degrees beaten back from thence, its Waves must have raised other Mountains in Circles about those which were first raised near the Poles; which Circles of Mountains as they widened and enlarged, would still leave Mountains behind them, in Lines parallel to one another, but all, however, in one Direction from East to West. See Plate VIII. Fig. 1. And therefore it is manifest, that this Matter of Fact here laid down by Mr. *Buffon*, that the Chain or Range of Hills in *America*, runneth from North to South, maketh against his own System, which supposeth the Mountains to have been formed by the natural Effect of the Wind and Tide.

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The eighth Observation is, that the present Surface of this habitable Earth is not the original one; and that in the Bodies of our Mountains, there is an irregular Mixture of Materials, where sometimes Earth and Fossils of a lighter Composition, are lower down than those which are specifically heavier. Which in my humble Opinion, as it cannot be accounted for by any natural Means, is an undoubted Proof of the *Mosaical* History of the Deluge; this being the Consequence of the miraculous breaking up of the Fountains of the Abyss, mentioned by *Moses*, and of the scattering of the heterogeneous Mixture of Minerals, which were scooped from thence, in Mountain upon Mountain, over the Face of the whole Earth.

For, although I do not suppose, with Dr. *Woodward*, that the whole material World was, at the Time of the Deluge, reduced into a soft Pulp, but allow that every Thing continued in its then State of Solidity; yet, it must be acknowledged, that, at the Time of the breaking up of the Fountains of the Abyss, a great Part of the Materials, which were scooped out of the Earth, as well as those which then lay on the Surface of the Sand and of the Shore, would be loose, separate, and divided, and would float irregularly in that Confusion of Elements which such a wonderful Operation must have occasioned, not only when showered down in Cataracts from on high, but also, when conveyed by the Force of the Waters of the Sea, which gushed forth as out of a Womb, to the Place destined for their Abode; where this heterogeneous Mass would subside, and form itself into such Hills or Mountains, and of such a mixed Kind of Materials, as we now find them to be, according to the wise Designation of the great Author of Nature.

And lastly, it is observed, that the Plants peculiar to the *Indies*, are found petrified in *France*, and the Shells that are now to be found Northward of the

Mediterr-

Mediterranean Sea, are scattered over the most distant Regions of the Earth. That among these Fossils, the Shells and Skeletons of Fish are to be found both entire and petrified, not only near the Surface, on the Summit of the Highest Mountains, and in Places at the greatest Distance from the Sea, but in the Heart of the Mountains, and in the Bowels of the Earth: And, that these Shells which are scattered over the Face of the Earth, and are dug out of these Mountains, are not only sometimes petrified, but are also sometimes incorporated into the very Body of the Marble itself, and are turned into the Nature of the Quarry with which they are environed. As to Shells, it is no Wonder, if there be any Truth in the foregoing System, that they should now be found almost every where. Because, as it is a known Quality of Shell-fish to be great Breeders, and as their Shells are not of a very heavy Nature, it is easy to conceive how, in this jarring Mixture of Elements, they, who lay upon the Surface of the Sand of the Sea, altho' at the Bottom of the Waters, should be hurried away in the Confusion, and be deposited sometimes at the bottom, and sometimes in the Heart, and sometimes at the Summit of the highest Mountains.

And as the Sea was at that Time *gathered together into one Place*, that is, under the Equator, there was then no Difference in the Temperature of the Air, only in different Latitudes; that is, all Places round the whole Globe were proportionably hot or cold, just as they were nearer to, or more distant from the Equator. And hence Fishes of all Denominations and Sorts, were equally spread all around the whole Globe, and the same may be said of Plants and Animals. Hence it is also, that, upon breaking up the Fountains of the great Deep, the Shells of Fish, and the Bodies of Plants and Animals, now peculiar to the Southern and Eastern Regions, are found not only in the Mountains of *France*, but also in *England*, and the

the more Northern Countries of *Germany*. Whereas, since this habitable Earth hath been broken into separate arts, the Sea divided into separate Branches, and the Temperature of the Air changed in particular Places by the new Disposition of Mountains, each Sea hath now its peculiar Fishes, and each Country hath now its peculiar Plants and Animals, and differ greatly in their Productions, even from those in the same Climate.

And, as to the Matter of Fact here asserted, that some of these Shells, Plants, and Animals, are not only found in their natural State, but are sometimes found turned into Stone, and are sometimes incorporated into the Body of the Marble itself, and are turned into the Nature of the Quarry with which they are environed; as that was the Subject which admitted the first Occasion of my writing these Letters, I propose speaking more fully to it, and shall therefore reserve it for the Object of our Correspondence, when I next have Leisure to do myself the Honour of writing to your Lordship,

Who am, &c.

LETTER X.

MY LORD,

AFTER sailing round about the whole World, I now seem to approach the Port from whence I first set out, and to have arrived at the Explanation of that Phænomenon, of the Petrification of Sea-shells and other Fossils; which first gave Occasion to this Correspondence. In order to which, I must, however, in the first Place, inform your Lordship, that Stones and Minerals do not grow in the same Manner with Plants and Animals, by an inward Supply

ply of Nourishment and Increase; but, by an outward Accession and Accretion of those Particles of Earth which are contiguous to them, by assimilating which, by Degrees, into their own Nature, they are thereby, at length, empowered to turn them into perfect Stones or Minerals.

I have heretofore remarked, that [1] Generation, either with Regard to the animal, vegetable, or mineral Species, seemeth to consist in nothing else than the depositing of Seeds in a proper *Nidus* for their Nutrition. And as I before observed, that *Moses* saith, that God impregnated those Things which he created in the Beginning with *Seeds within themselves*, that they might produce *after their Kinds*; or, as *St. Paul* expresseth it, that [2] *GOD hath given every Thing a Body as it hath pleased him*, and to every Seed *its own Body*: Hence proceedeth that infinite Variety of Fossils, which are every Day dug out of the Bowels of the Earth, every one of which invariably pursuing one certain Form and Manner of Texture peculiar to itself, and which, when reduced into Particles of the finest Powder, still preserveth its own specifick and determinate Form, is a demonstrable Proof, that the great Author of Nature hath not only given to each Seed its own Body, but hath also implanted in these several Bodies a strong and unalterable Tendency towards forming themselves into larger Masses of the same *Kind*, if not prevented by a Force superior to their own.

As to those Fossils which are of the Stone Kind, the *Virtuosi* have ranked them under their several Classes and have distinguished them into their separate Tribes, the particular Consideration of each of which would be too extensive for my present Purpose; I shall therefore only consider them as they may be divided into two Sorts, those that are *hard*, and those

[1] Let. VI. p. 230.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 58.

that are *soft*. By soft Stones, I mean such as Marble and Lime-stones, with their inferior Classes, which are easily chizzled with an Iron Tool ; and by hard Stones, I mean Flints, Agates, &c. with all those of superior Hardness and Value up to the Diamond ; which being of less Use to Mankind than those of the Marble or Lime-stone Species, are therefore more rare to be found ; and whose Scarcity may arise, either from hence, that God hath scattered the several Seeds of them with a more sparing Hand ; or that he hath formed them of so delicate a Nature, that the Food proper for their Nourishment and Increase is but rare to be found. Whereas, every Thing in Nature seemeth to give Nourishment to Stones of the soft Kind, which turn whatever cometh in their Way, and within the Reach of their Contact, even Plants or Animals, provided they are quiescent, and dead, into the same apparent Nature with themselves.

For, although the original Particles, of which all material Beings are compounded, seem to have their invariable Form given them at their Creation ; yet are they capable of being mixed and compounded with other Bodies, in such a Manner, as seemingly to change their Natures, and make them serve for Food and Nourishment to other Bodies of a very different Constitution in Appearance. And as those Species of Things, whether vegetable or animal, which are designed to grow in Water or Air, either of which is a Medium of a more yielding and fluid Nature than their own, seem to receive their Nourishment from within, and by drawing it into themselves, either at their Roots or Mouths, swell their Bulk outwardly by an inward Accession of Parts ; so those Species of Beings, which are designed for Increase under Ground and in the Bowels of the Earth, whose ponderous Weight and firm Solidity might prevent such a Kind of inward Growth ; these, I say, seem endowed by Providence with Powers for en-

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creasing

creasing their Bulk, by converting those externally adjacent Bodies, which are within the Reach of their Influence, into their own Nature; provided that such Bodies are quiescent, and will abide in one State of Rest, long enough to suffer such a Transmutation. Of which I have a Specimen of Marble now lying by me, that is an undeniable Proof.

For, the Specimen I am speaking of, is the Fragment of a large Block of blue and white Marble that was brought from *Italy*, which, when it came to be sawed a-sunder, was found, near the upper Surface, to be full of Holes within, which Holes were all filled with real Cockle-shells unconverted from their natural State. The Reason of which was this: That the Marble Quarry underneath, turned the Sand, of which these Cockles were the Inhabitants, into Stone, while the Cockles were themselves alive. And, as the Manner in which these Animals spend their Lives, is, by working a Hole for themselves in the Sand, within a certain Distance from the Surface, still reserving to themselves a Communication with the upper Water, by the Means of a Vent-hole of a small Diameter, which they keep constantly open; so this Marble Quarry, although its petrifying Powers were able to turn the adjoining quiescent Particles of Sand into Stone, yet seemeth unable to have petrified the living Cockles, whose Motions, when provoked by any of their Appetites to stir, prevented the Operation of the petrifying Quality. And accordingly, I observed, that every vacant Space in the Marble, was so much larger than the Shell of the Cockle, as to give it Room sufficiently to open its Shell and receive its Food. I likewise observed, that the *Spiracula*, or Holes of Communication between the Cockle and the upper Water, were all kept open through the solid Marble, although the Marble had surrounded and covered the Shells above half an Inch thick on the upper Side. I likewise observed, that the Shells of those
Cockles

Cockles are very thin in Proportion to their Size, which I attribute to the sickly State of their Health, after their natural Bed of Sand was turned into an unnatural Bed of Stone. Whereas, I apprehend, that, had these Cockles been dead before the petrifying Quality of the Marble had affected their contiguous Habitations, these Shells, as well as the Dirt or Mud with which they would have been filled, would all have been turned into the same Kind of Substance with the encircling Quarry; only they might, perhaps, have been of a different Colour.

It is likewise to be observed, that Water, by passing gently, and with a very slow Motion, through a Quarry of Stone, may be so strongly impregnated with the Seeds of Petrification, and may acquire so strong a petrifying Quality, as not only to turn some of its own Particles, but any thing that lieth still and quiescent in its Way, into Stone. There is a River near *Clogher*, into which two Springs gently owse, that have petrified the Banks, through which they distil themselves into the River, into a solid Consistency as hard as Stone. And when these Petrifications are broken, you there find all the various Fragments of which these Banks were composed, whether they were Earth, or Shells, or Leaves, and Boughs of Trees, or even Nuts, very distinctly marked in them; some fair Specimens of which I have given to my learned Friend Dr. *Pococke*, to put among his curious Collection of Fossils.

When I was at *Clogher* one dry Summer, I walked in, and searched the Bed of this River, or rather Brook, into which these Springs fall; and there I found several Stones which seem also endowed with a petrifying Quality, and to have converted every Thing which stuck to them into Stone; such as small Branches of Trees, Leaves, Cod-baits, &c. And here, I think it proper, in some Degree, to confirm an Observation made by Monsieur *Peyssonel*, that Corals and Madre-

pores are the Nests and Habitations of Animals who raise these stony Fabricks about themselves in the same Manner as Cockles, and Snails, and other Shell-fish, are furnished with Shells for their Defence and Preservation. For, although I think Monsieur *Peyssonel* carries this Assertion too far, if his Assertion extendeth to all Corals and Madrepores, for I have not yet been able to procure his own Works, and only speak at present from what Monsieur *Buffon* [2] reporteth of him, yet I am persuaded, that many of the Excrescencies on Corals and Madrepores, may be owing to Animals, which they are empowered by the God of Nature to raise as a Shelter and Habitation for themselves, or their Young.

I am, nevertheless, of Opinion, at the same Time, that the chief Substance of the Coral or Madrepores, is an original Species of its own, propagated by a Seed, some of them plainly growing from Roots as other Plants do, which Seed, when deposited in a proper Nidus, formeth *its own Body after its own Kind*.

But what seemeth to have mis-led Mr. *Peyssonel*, is this; that these Corals and Madrepores are themselves very often a proper Nidus for some Insects, either to cling to themselves, or to lay their Eggs in; into which they may have a Power of boring Holes, and depositing their Young, and of raising Teguments about them for their Defence, out of the very Substance of the Coral, or Madrepores; as we see done every Day by other Insects in the Leaves and Barks of Trees, from whence Galls, and Oak-apples, and Mistletoe, and other ligneous Excrescences are daily produced.

I accordingly observed, in searching the aforementioned River, that there were two Sorts of Excrescencies upon the Stones that I found there, one Sort

of which were regular, and the other irregular. Those that were regular, had the Appearance of a Kind of Root, from whence the several Branches seem regularly to shoot, and did not only shew themselves on the Outside of the Stone, but shot directly thro' the very Body of the Stone, so as that the Excrecence at the Top answered directly to its correspondent Root at the Bottom.

Which Species of Petrifications have been often taken Notice of by the *Virtuosi*, and are ranked under the Denomination of the *Syringoides*, or *Pipe-Stone*. It is likewise to be remarked, that although the Tubes, which these Stones shot into, were of different Sizes, that is, from the Size of a small Rush to that of a large Swan Quill, yet all those in the same Stone were exactly of the same Size; Specimens of each Sort I have also given to my worthy Friend Dr. *Pococke*.

However, the irregular Excrecencies seemed to penetrate the Stone but very superficially; nor did I find, that they could be traced beyond the Surface. And that these were owing to certain Animalcules, I had undoubted Reason to believe, by an Experiment I made of some Stones which I threw into this River in the Month of *August*, and left there for some Time; for when I came to remove them, there having been a Flood in the mean Time, I found these Stones covered over with Lumps of Earth in irregular Spots, exactly like the irregular petrified Excrecencies aforementioned; and when I wiped them off carefully with my Finger, I found a small reddish Insect, like a Worm, in the Heart of each of them. I am therefore convinced that the aforementioned irregular petrified Excrecencies, were only the Nests of some of these Animals which were petrified in Time, after the Insect, which had originally brought them there, had quitted his Habitation, on gathering Strength sufficient

cient to change his Shape and enter into a new Kind or State of Life.

And what confirms me in this Opinion, is, an accidental Observation which I made when I was Bishop of *Corke*, of some Insects which had formed little Nests for themselves on the Sides and Bottom of a Tub, into which I had put some Weeds taken out of a Pond at my Country Seat near *Corke*, in the Month of *July*, *A. D.* 1744. where, having observed these Weeds at the Bottom of a Pond, to be almost covered over with a prodigious Number of oval Blubs of a light green Colour, adhering to the Branches of the Weeds, like so many Bunches of Grapes, only that they did not hang from the Branches, but clang round about them much in the same Shape and Size, as represented in Plate IX. ^A Fig. 1. I carefully removed them, together with the Earth in which they grew, into a Tub filled with the Water of the Pond, without moving them out of the Water. In a few Days, I perceived some of these green and almost pellucid Blubs, to have a Hole in their Skin, as in Plate IX. ^B Fig. 2. I then observed a Number of small Collections of Earth to lie in irregular Streaks all over the Bottom and Sides of the Tub, exactly of the same Kind, but not so large as those I before mentioned, which adhered to the Stone that I took out of the Brook near *Clogher*, as at Fig. 3. And upon pressing some of them with my Finger, I found on the Inside a small Insect, which appeared to the naked Eye, as at Fig. 4; but when viewed through a small magnifying Glass, as at Fig. 5. In a few Days more, I observed the Surface of the Water covered over with a Number of very small black Flies; and upon searching the irregular Streaks of Earth, found they were empty, and the Insects all gone. I sent for a Painter to *Corke*, and had a Drawing in Water-colours made of these Weeds, from whence the annexed Plate is taken. I intended the next Season

son to have been more curious in my Remarks; but before that Time came, I was removed to *Clogher*.

When I made the forementioned Discovery of the Insects, that were lodged in their little Cells on the Stone which I had thrown into the Brook near *Clogher*, it was at a considerable Distance from my own House, and I had not my Microscope with me, nor was there a Painter there to be had; but, I hope, the annexed Plate will be sufficient to give you some Idea of those irregular Streaks of Earth, together with their little Inhabitants, they being very much alike in both Cases.

And, what is very remarkable, is this, that altho' I searched this Brook at *Clogher*, both a good way above, as well as below, these Springs, I could find none of these Petrifications in it, either regular or irregular, but near these Springs, that is, within Half a Mile below the Place where these Springs fell into the Brook. Which seemeth to me to be a Proof, that the petrifying Quality of these Stones was owing to the natural Disposition and Formation of their original Seed, which, when it met with that proper Nourishment, these petrifying Springs supplied it with, exerted itself *according to its Kind*, either to shoot into regular Forms, as Corals, Madrepores, and the Pipe-stones, &c. always do; or else, only by Accretion, to convert the approaching and contiguous Matter, when of a proper Nature, into their own stony Substance.

It is also to be remarked, this River, along with several others, emptieth itself into Lough *Neagh*, which is noted for its petrifying Quality in turning Wood into Stone. And therefore, I suppose that this Lake, with those of its adjacent Grounds, which are most remarkable for this petrifying Quality, (for it hath different Powers in different Places) is chiefly supplied by Waters that distil gently out of some rocky Caverns, which are hid deep from the Sun, in

the Bowels of its neighbouring Mountains; and being there impregnated with Seeds of a petrific Nature, these Seeds, when they meet with a proper *Nidus*, exert their natural Faculties, and turn these Materials, which they meet with in their way and are qualified for their Reception, into Stone. And hence it is, that some of the petrified Pieces of Wood that are found near this Lake, are turned into Stone on the Outside, while the Inside remaineth almost in its natural Form; and others are turned into Stone at the Heart, while the Outside remaineth but in a neutral State.

And thus, having taken a short Survey of Petrification in general, we may upon good Grounds suppose, in the great Convulsion of Nature at the Deluge, when the Fountains of the Sea were broken up, and thrown upon the Land, that some Shell-fish, as well as other Animals and Plants, may have been buried in the Ruins; and that, after the Deluge was over, when the Waters were retired to their new Bed, if it happened to be the Lot of these Plants or Animals to have been thrown over or near some stone Quarry, they would, as the stone Quarry encreased by the Transmutation of the adjoining Earth, be turned into Stone; and this Transmutation would be more quick and more perfect, if a petrifying Spring happened to be any where near them.

According therefore to the Soil which these Shells happened to meet with, such would be their Fate; if they were thrown deep under Ground, and not near a Quarry, or any petrific Matter, but where the Soil was compact and close, so as to preserve them from the Air, they might have continued to this Time, in their pure, natural State, without being in the least either rotten or decayed. But, if they were thrown up near a Quarry, or some petrific Matter, it might happen, that by the Looseness of the circumjacent Earth, the Shell might be decayed in

Length

Length of Time, and yet may have lasted long enough to leave behind a Cast or an Impression of itself, in the contiguous Earth, which would in Time be turned into Stone. And if for Example, a Shell happened to be empty when it was thrown upon Land, the retiring Waters, impregnated with Mud and Slutch, would certainly fill it; by which Means, when the adjacent Earth came to be petrified, there would be a Cast in Stone left, both of its Inside and Outside, although the Shell itself should be decayed. Which is the real Case in a great Number of Instances, and of which I had the Pleasure of shewing you some very remarkable ones.

But, if these Shells, or Plants, or Fish, were covered with a deep Quantity of compact Earth, when they were thrown on Shore, which, by preserving them from the Air, would also keep them from Corruption; and if a Quarry was near them, and a petrifying Spring happened to owze that Way; then, not only the Earth which surrounded them, but the Shells and Bones, or whatever else was there quiescent, would, as the Quarry increased, be consolidated into one Piece of Stone, only to be discerned by the Difference of Colour: As it happeneth in the Case of some Marble Quarries, where manifest Marks of petrified Bones, and Shells, and Plants, are plainly to be seen in the solid Marble itself.

And now, having gone thus far in the Disquisition of that wonderful Phænomenon of Sea-shells being found petrified at a Distance from the Sea, in almost all the known Parts of this habitable World, which, in my humble Opinion, cannot otherwise be accounted for, than by the supernatural Operation of the breaking up of the Fountains of the Abyss at the Time of the Deluge; I shall in my next, the better to confirm what I have already advanced, enquire a little further into that wonderful Catastrophe of the
Deluge,

Deluge, as described in the Book of *Genesis*. And remain, in the mean Time,

Your Lordship's, &c.

LETTER XI.

MY LORD,

I HAVE so much Pleasure in the Contemplation of the Holy Scriptures, that I am willing to acknowledge myself prejudiced in their Favour; and own, that I feel myself delighted whenever I am able to give a rational Answer to any of those Objections, which have been raised by Deists, or Scepticks, against Revelation. And, as I am fully convinced of the Divine Inspiration, and consequently of the Truth of those Sacred Writings, which go under the Name of the *Old and New Testament*, I enter the more freely into the Disquisition of that wonderful Catastrophe of the Deluge, as described in the Book of *Genesis*; having found, by repeated Experience, that the more freely and severely those Books are enquired into, the fuller Testimony they always give of their divine Original.

But, before we proceed, it may not be improper to take Notice of two or three Objections which are started by Monsieur *Buffon*, against this Notion of the *Mosaical* Deluge being the Cause of this Importation of Marine-shells over the whole Earth. Because, saith he [3], if these Shells had been brought to these inland Places by a Deluge, they would only have been found on, or near, the Surface of the Earth.

[3] *Buffon*, Vol. I. p. 302.

Which

Which is certainly true, if we suppose this Deluge only to have operated by the Force of natural Causes, and that the Sea had only overflowed this Earth, as it were, by an high Tide, without having the Fountains of the great Deep *broken up*. But if we take this into Consideration, then this Objection hath no Force in it; but, on the contrary, is a strong Proof of some very extraordinary and supernatural Event, which hath some Time or other made a vast Alteration in the upper Surface of this terraqueous Globe. And to what Event, or to what Time can this wonderful Catastrophe be attributed so properly, as to that which is described by *Moses*, as having happened in the Days of *Noah*?

But then [3], he further urges, that Bones and Horns of Beasts are seldom found petrified; whereas, had the Cause of this great Alteration in the Face of the Earth been owing to the forementioned Catastrophe, then, saith he, the Land, as well as the Sea, Animals, ought to be found covered with Earth.

In Answer to which Objection, I need only assure you of the Truth and Certainty of that Matter of Fact, of which Monsieur *Buffon* seemeth to be doubtful, or rather to be quite ignorant: For, I can inform you with great Certainty, that not only the Teeth and Horns, but the entire Skeletons of Land-animals have been frequently dug up in *Ireland*; and those belonging to such Animals as are no where now to be found but in the East or West *Indies*: Such as the Elephant and Moose-deer, which, on Account of the Wildness and Fierceness of their Nature, as well as of the Immenity of their Bulk, could never have been imported in such Quantities into this Kingdom since it was an Island.

And, to convince you of this, I need only give an Abstract of the Account of this Matter of Fact, as it

is related in *the Natural History of Ireland*, and is chiefly contained in a Letter from Mr. *Francis Nevil* to Dr. *St. George Ashe*, the then Lord Bishop of *Clogher*, giving an Account of four large Teeth, which were, without any Manner of Doubt, the Teeth of an Elephant, that were found within eight Miles of *Belturbet*, towards the North-west of *Ireland*; which, as appeareth from the Remarks made on this Letter by Dr. *Molyneux*, were not only grown dark-coloured with having lain so long under Ground, but were become more hard, solid, and ponderous, than they naturally were at first, nay, in some Places, saith he, were plainly petrified.

Along with these Teeth were also found Part of the Jaw-bone, and of the Skull, and several other Bones, supposed to belong to the Skeleton of the above-mentioned Animal; but, as soon as they came to be exposed to the Air, they mouldered away. However, it may not be disagreeable to give you an Account of the Bed, on which the Skeleton of this Animal was found lying; “ which, saith my Author, “ was about four Feet under Ground, with a little “ Rising above the Superficies of the Earth, which “ was a Plain under the Foot of an Hill, and about “ thirty Yards from the Brook, or thereabouts. The “ Bed, whereon it lay, had been laid with Fern, and “ with that Sort of Rushes here called *Sprits*, and “ with Bushes intermixed, and a great many Nut- “ shells about the Bed. Under this was a stiff blue “ Clay, on which the Teeth and Bones were found: “ Above this was first a Mixture of yellow Clay and “ Sand, much of the same Colour: Under that a “ fine white sandy Clay, which was next to the Bed: “ The Bed was for the most Part a Foot thick, and “ in some Places thicker, with a Moisture clear thro’ “ it. It lay sod and close, and cut much like Turf, “ and would divide into Flakes, thicker or thinner “ as you would; and in every Layer the Seed of the
“ Rushes

“ Rushes was as fresh as if new pulled, so that it was
 “ in the Height of Seed-time [4] when those Rushes
 “ were laid there. The Branches of the Fern in every
 “ Layer as we opened them, were very distinguisha-
 “ ble, as were the Seeds of the Rushes and the Tops
 “ of the Boughs. The whole Matter smelt very sour
 “ as it was dug; and tracing it, I found it thirty-four
 “ Feet long, and about twenty or twenty-two Feet
 “ broad.”

As to the Horns and Skeletons of Moose-deer, which have been also frequently found under Ground in *Ireland*, and which, in my Opinion, are full as extraordinary as the other, the best Account we have of them is in a Discourse written by Dr. *Molyneux* aforementioned, and communicated to the Royal Society, of which he was a Member, in which he quotes the Words of Mr. *Osbourn*, who sent a Pair of these Horns to his Brother *Thomas Molyneux*, Esq; to this Purpose; “ I have, by the Bearer, sent you the
 “ Head and Horns I promised you. This is the third
 “ Head I have found by casual Trenching in my
 “ Orchard; they were all dug up within the Com-
 “ pass of an Acre of Land, and lay above four or
 “ five Feet under Ground, in a Sort of boggy Soil:
 “ The first Pitch was of Earth, the next two or three
 “ of Turf, and then followed a Sort of white Marl
 “ where they were found.”

Dr. *Molyneux* likewise remarks, that such another Head, with both the Horns entire, was found some Years before in the County of *Clare*, about ten Feet under Ground, in a Sort of Marl.

He likewise mentioneth a Pair of Horns of the same Sort, which were found ten Feet under Ground, by Major *Folliot*, as he was digging for Marl near

[4] See Lett. XII. p. 322. where the Deluge is proved to have begun on the 17th Day of *October*; and by the Freshness of these Seeds, it is probable, that this Bed had been made towards the latter End of the preceding Summer.

Ballyshannon. In short, he affirms, that, to his Knowledge, there were at least twenty, if not thirty Pair of them, dug up in several Parts of *Ireland*, in less than twenty Years.

From what hath been said relating to the Subject now before us, may be drawn several natural Reflections. And first, as some of the Horns of these Beasts were ten Feet ten Inches wide at their Extremities, and each Branch eleven Inches in Circumference at the Root where they were fastened to their Head; this shews, that the Size of the Beasts which carried them, must have been enormously great. And as these Kinds of Beasts are remarkably wild and fierce, it is not probable that they could have been transported in such Numbers into the Kingdom of *Ireland*, since it was an Island; and therefore, probably, they came into this Place before the Flood of *Noah*, and were overwhelmed in the Deluge.

Again, as the Number of Moose-deer, whose Skeletons are found in several Parts of *Ireland*, seem, by their being so well preserved, to shew that they did not die a natural Death; for otherwise, Experience may convince us, that they would have soon turned to Corruption; so do they all seem to have been destroyed at one and the same Time, although in very distant Parts of the Kingdom. Hence it appears, that the Occasion of their Death was owing to some one, general, violent Cause; which cannot be attributed to any thing more properly than to the Deluge, which embalmed them in Marl and Mud, at the same Time that it deprived them of Life. It likewise hence appears, that some of the low Grounds in *Ireland* have not been covered more than from five to ten Feet thick with the Slutch of the Deluge, at the same Time that the Mountains were raised to a stupendous Height. Since it is probable, that, at the Time of the Death of the aforementioned Elephant and Moose-deer, the Places upon which they

they were found lying, were the natural Surface of the then habitable Earth.

Upon the whole, therefore, I cannot help thinking that these Facts being undeniably true, cannot so well be accounted for in any other Way, as by supposing these Animals to have been overwhelmed and destroyed at the Time of the Deluge; and that they came into this Country before this Island was separated from the Continent, it not being consistent with common Reason to suppose, on Account of their Wildness and Bulk, that they could have been imported into it afterwards. And therefore, the Probability is, that the same extraordinary and supernatural Cause, which tore this Island asunder from the Continent, and broke the Surface of this terraqueous Globe, into that irregular, but [4] useful, Form in which it now lies, was also the Cause of the Destruction of these Animals; Multitudes whereof, as Mr. *Buffon* observes, must have been destroyed over the Face of the whole Earth, if the Fact of the Deluge was true, at a Time when Nature was so universally convulsed.

I shall therefore, in my next, proceed to compare these Observations with the Account given of the Deluge by *Moses*, in the Book of *Genesis*.

Who am, &c.

[5] See Letter XIII.

LETTER XII.

My LORD,

AND now, my Lord, in order to set this whole Affair in a full Light, let us compare the Observations which I have mentioned in my former Letters,

Letters, with the Account given of the Deluge by *Moses*, in the VIIth Chapter of *Genesis*: Where he says, that in the six hundredth Year of *Noah's* Age, in the second Month, the seventeenth Day of the Month, the same Day were ALL THE FOUNTAINS OF THE GREAT DEEP BROKEN UP, AND THE WINDOWS OF HEAVEN WERE OPENED, AND THE RAIN WAS UPON THE EARTH forty Days and forty Nights. And the Flood was forty Days upon the Earth; and the Waters increased, and bare up the Ark, and it was lift up above the Earth. And the Waters prevailed, and were increased greatly upon the Earth; and the Ark went upon the Face of the Waters. And the Waters prevailed exceedingly upon the Earth; and all the high Hills that were under the whole Heaven were covered. Fifteen Cubits upwards did the Waters prevail; and the Mountains were covered. And all Flesh died that were upon the Earth.

And God remembred *Noah*, and every living Thing, and all the Cattle that was with him in the Ark: And God made a Wind to pass over the Earth, and the Waters asswaged. The Fountains of the Deep and the Windows of Heaven were stopped, and the Rain from Heaven was restrained. And the Waters returned from off the Earth continually: And after the End of the 150 Days, the Waters were abated, and the Ark rested in the seventh Month, on the seventeenth Day of the Month, upon the Mountains of *Ararat*.

And here it may first be observed, that it is not clear from this Passage, whether the Commencement of these Months is to be dated from the Years of *Noah's* Age, or from the Commencement of the current Year. But as it is generally reckoned that they refer to the Months of the current Year, and as I see nothing to determine me one Way or the other, so shall I abide by the common Opinion. It is also to be observed, that several Persons differ in Opinion, about the Month in which the antient antediluvian
Year

Year did commence; that is, whether it was about the Time of our Spring, or about the autumnal Season, that the World was originally created. But, as this Dispute is of no great Consequence, I shall only mention my Reason, why I suppose it to have been created towards the Beginning of the autumnal Season. And that is, because I suppose every thing to have been then created in its full Vigour. And that as neither Birds, nor Beasts, nor Men, were produced in an helpless or infant State, so, I suppose, the Grass, and Herbs, and Fruits of the Earth, to have grown instantaneously, by the wonderful Power of God, to their full Perfection, so as to have been fit for the immediate Use both of Man and Beast; which State they are generally in about the autumnal Equinox. And what adds no small Strength to this Argument is, that the *Jews* had two Ways of reckoning the Commencement of the Year, the one called the *Civil* and the other the *Ecclesiastical* Year; but as the Establishment of the Ecclesiastical Year did not commence until after the Departure of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*; from which Time the Month *Abib*, in which they departed out of *Egypt*, was commanded [6] to be reckoned the first Month of the Year, by this Means there came to be exactly six Months Difference, between the Commencement of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Year. And hence it is that the Feast of Tabernacles, or the Ingathering, which in Lev. xxiii. 34. 39. is commanded to be kept *on the fifteenth Day of the seventh Month*, is in Exod. xxiii. 16. described as being *in the End of the Year*. Because the sixth Month of the Ecclesiastical Year answered exactly to the last Month of the Civil Year; and therefore the Feast of *Ingathering*, which was ordered to be kept in the seventh Month of the Ecclesiastical Year, was always kept in the first Month of the

[6] See Exod. xii. 2. 18. Lev. xxiii. 5. Num. xxviii. 16. xxxii. 3.

Civil Year ; or, which is the same thing, at the End of the preceding Civil Year. And as the Month *Tisri*, which answers to our *September*, was the first Month of the *Jewish* Civil Year, and the seventh Month of the Ecclesiastical Year, I therefore suppose the Commencement of the *Jewish* Civil Year to have been continued down to them by the Tradition of their Fathers, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and to have taken its Origin from the Time of the Creation of the World. So that we may reckon the seventeenth Day of the second Month, when, according to *Moses*, the Deluge began, to have been about the seventeenth Day of our *October*.

Let us therefore suppose, that it was on the seventeenth Day of *October*, or on the seventeenth Day of the second Month of the Year *A. M.* 1656, that the Flood began, and that *the Fountains of the great Deep were broken up* ; it will then follow, that *Noah* must have entered into the Ark on the tenth Day of the same Month, because it is said, that *Noah went in, and his Sons, and his Wife, and his Sons Wives with him, into the Ark, because of the Waters of the Flood. Of clean Beasts, and of Beasts that are not clean, and of Fowls, and of every Thing that creepeth upon the Earth, there went in two and two, unto Noah into the Ark, the Male and the Female, as God had commanded Noah. And it came to pass, AFTER SEVEN DAYS, that the Waters of the Flood were on the Earth.*

Whence it appears, that, after the Ark was entirely finished, and *Noah* and his Family had begun to embark, this Part of the Work alone took up a whole Week ; and though it is here said that the Beasts, &c. went in two by two, Male and Female, yet it appears, that this is strictly to be understood only of the Order in which they were ranged ; because that *Noah* was commanded to take of every clean Beast, and of every clean Fowl, by Sevens [7], or seven Pair

[7] Gen. vii. 2.

of

of each, which entered in two and two, *Male and Female*.

It likewise further appears, that these Beasts and Fowls were not collected together by the Care and Assiduity of *Noah* and his Family, but were sent in after a miraculous Manner, by the wonderful Power of GOD. For, says GOD unto *Noah*, *Two of every Sort SHALL COME UNTO THEE to keep them alive* [8]. Whereas the Food, which he and his Family, as well as the Beasts and Fowls, were to live upon, seems to have been collected by *Noah* beforehand; and therefore GOD is represented by *Moses*, as saying to *Noah*, *Take thou unto thee of all Food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be for Food for thee and for* [9] *them*.

Upon which a noted Question hath been started by some Persons of Learning, whether animal Food is to be comprehended under the Denomination of *all Food that is eaten*? Because they assert, that, when GOD said unto *Adam*, *Behold, I have given you every Herb bearing Seed, which is upon the Face of all the Earth, and every Tree, in which is the Fruit of a Tree yielding Seed; to you it shall be for Meat* [1]; the Omission of the mention of animal Food, was equal to a Prohibition to the Antediluvians. But, as in the Case now before us, it is manifest, that many Species of wild Beasts were admitted into the Ark, who cannot feed upon Grass, but require animal Food for their Support; therefore it is reasonable to suppose, that some tame Beasts were taken by *Noah* into the Ark, more than were prescribed, as being necessary for the future Propagation of their Species, although they are not particularly mentioned; some of which were disposed of for the Maintenance of those wild Beasts, who required animal Food for their Nourishment; as well as for Sacrifices, either while *Noah* was in the Ark, or as soon as ever he came out of it;

[8] Gen. vi. 20.

[9] Gen. vi. 21.

[1] Gen. i. 29.

and yet I can see no natural Right that a Lion, or a Tiger, had to feed upon Sheep, more than Man, who was Lord of the Creation.

But it is further urged, that though animal Food was permitted to the wild Beasts, it was forbidden to the Antediluvians of the human Species; because God particularly gives them Permission to eat it after the Flood, which he had not done before; when he said unto *Noah* after the Deluge was over, *Every moving Thing that liveth shall be Meat for you; even as the green Grass have I given you all Things* [2]. But they, who make Use of this as an Argument against the Practice of eating animal Food before the Deluge, seem to stop a little too short in the Quotation; for in this Passage of Scripture, God is represented as blessing *Noah* and his Family, as he did *Adam* and *Eve* in the Beginning, and says unto him and his Sons, *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the Earth*; and then he recapitulates the Power of Dominion over all Creatures upon this terrestrial Globe, which he had likewise given to *Adam*, and says to *Noah*, *And the Fear of you, and the Dread of you, shall be upon every Beast of the Earth, and upon every Fowl of the Air, and upon all that moveth on the Earth, and upon all the Fishes of the Sea; into your Hand are they delivered* [3]. And then he proceeds and says, *Every moving Thing that liveth shall be Meat for you; even as the green Herb have I given you all Things.—But Flesh with the Life thereof, which is the Blood thereof, shall you not eat.* Which last Sentence, that is introduced with a *But*, seems to be the only Alteration that is made in this Donation, from that which was originally given to *Adam*.

The Earth had lately been destroyed on Account of the Wickedness of Man, Because *the Earth was filled with Violence* [4]; and therefore God, when he renewed to *Noah* the Dominion he had given to *Adam*,

[2] Gen. ix. 3.

[3] Gen. ix. 1, 2.

[4] Gen. vi. 11.

says,

says, *Every moving Thing that liveth, shall be Meat for you; even as the green Herb have I given you all Things: But Flesh with the Life thereof, which is the Blood thereof, shall you not eat.* And then he adds the Reason for this particular Prohibition of eating Blood: Which was to remind them, and forewarn them against the Practice of that Violence and Bloodshed, which had occasioned the Destruction of Mankind by the Flood; for then immediately follows, *And surely your Blood of your Lives will I require: At the Hand of every Beast will I require it; and at the Hand of Man, at the Hand of every Man's Brother will I require the Life of Man* [5], &c.

Besides, as it is certain, according to the *Mosaical History*, that *Abel was a keeper of Sheep* [6]; and that *Jabal was the Father of such as dwelled in Tents, and such as have Cattle*; for what Use can we suppose that so much Care was taken in the Preservation and Nourishment of these *Sheep* and these *Cattle*, if Men were not to make Use of them for Food? For as to Sacrifice, the Number that were consumed thereby, was but small in Proportion; and even with Regard to these, the Flesh of the Animal was not consumed by the Sacrifice, even when it was a *Burnt-offering*, but only the Cawl, and the Fat, and Rump; but was partly given to the Priest to eat, and partly disposed of to the Person who offered the Sacrifice, to *feast* with among his Friends. See Gen. xxxi. 54. Prov. vii. 14, &c. So that in my humble Opinion, when God gave *Adam Dominion over the Fish of the Sea*, and over the Fowls of the Air, and over the Cattle, the Permission to eat animal Food was as effectually included therein, as when he said more explicitly to *Noah*, *Every moving Thing shall be Meat for you; even as the green Herb have I given you all Things*; for otherwise, I do not see what Use the Dominion that

[5] Gen. i. 2.

[6] Gen. vi. 11, 12, 13.

was given to *Adam*, over the Fish of the Sea in particular, could possibly be to him.

But to return, When *Noah* and his Family, and the Birds and Beasts, had all entered the Ark, then it is observed that the *Lord shut him in* [7]. *Noah* indeed, when the Embarkation was ended, might have fastened the Door of the Ark within Side; but unless some superior Power had closed it on the Outside, I do not apprehend that it was possible for *Noah* to have fitted the Door with that Exactness, as to prevent such a Leakage, as might at least have endangered the sinking of the Vessel.

For soon after the Embarkation was ended, then the Deluge began, and *the Fountains of the great Deep were broken up, and the Windows of Heaven were opened, and the Rain was upon the Earth forty Days and forty Nights* [8], that is from the 17th of *October*, to the 27th of *November* inclusive. During which Time, *the Waters encreased and bare up the Ark, and the Waters prevailed and were encreased greatly. And all the high Hills were covered. Fifteen Cubits upwards did the Waters prevail, and the Mountains were covered* [9]. So that the Deluge was at its Height on the 27th of *November*. From which Time it began to decrease, and 110 Days afterwards was so much abated, that the Ark touched Ground.

For on the 28th of *November*, *God made a Wind to pass over the Earth, and the Waters asswaged: The Fountains also of the Deep, and the Windows of Heaven were stopped, and the Rain from Heaven was restrained; and the Waters returned from off the Earth CONTINUALLY* [1]. And after the End of an 150 Days from the Commencement of the Deluge on the 17th Day of *October*, *the Waters were so far abated, that the Ark rested on the seventeenth Day of the seventh Month, or*

[7] Gen. vii. 16. [8] Gen. vii. 11, 17. [9] Gen. vii,
11—20. [1] Gen. viii. 1, 3,

on the 17th Day of March upon the Mountains of Ararat.

And here it may be proper to remark, from the Account given of the Deluge by *Moses*, that the Antediluvians reckoned thirty Days to a Month; because this Flood began on the seventeenth Day of the second Month, to which if you add five Months, of thirty Days each, or 150 Days, that will bring us to the seventeenth Day of the seventh Month, when the Ark rested on the Mountains of *Ararat*.

It is likewise to be observed, that here is a Distinction made by *Moses* between the Fountains of the Deep, the Windows of Heaven, and the Rain of Heaven. For, says he, *The Fountains of the Deep, and the Windows of Heaven were stopped, and the Rain from Heaven was restrained.* It should likewise be remarked, that the original Word, which we translate *the Windows of Heaven*, literally signifies the *Cataracts* of Heaven, as it is rendered in the Septuagint Version, and ought to be so translated in this, and other Places, particularly in 2 Kings vii. 2. 19. where what we translate, *If the Lord would make Windows in Heaven, might this Thing be?* ought to be translated, *If the Lord would make Cataracts from Heaven, this Thing might be.* For Samaria being then in such great Distress for Want of Provisions, that an Ass's Head was sold for fourscore Pieces of Silver, and that Women who had no Money, killed and eat their own Children, *Elisha* said to the King, "Hear ye the Word
 " of the Lord, thus saith the Lord: To-morrow about
 " this Time, shall a Measure of fine Flour be sold for a
 " Shekel, and two Measures of Barley for a Shekel, in
 " the Gates of Samaria. Then a Lord, on whose Hand
 " the King leaned, answered the Man of God and said,
 " Behold, if the Lord would make Windows in Heaven
 " (or rather Cataracts from Heaven) this might be!
 " And he [*Elisha*] said, Behold, thou shalt see it with
 " thine Eyes, but shalt not eat thereof." Whence it

is plain, from the Displeasure which *Elisba* expressed towards this Lord, that this Lord did not believe what *Elisba* said, but expressed himself after an ironical Manner ; as if it was impossible, for what *Elisba* said, to be true, unless God would make *Cataracts* of Flour and Barley to pour down upon them from Heaven. But to what Purpose God's making Windows in Heaven for any other Use, would be to the Subject in Dispute between them, I own I do not understand. See also *Isai. xxiv. 18.* and *Malach. iii. 10.*

And therefore, to return from this Digression, to the principal Subject in Hand, When the Fountains of the great Deep were broken up, we must suppose, that this was executed much in the Manner as described by *Job*, when speaking, in the Name of God, of this wonderful Catastrophe, he says, *Who shut up the Sea with Doors, when it brake forth, as if it had issued out of a Womb ? When I made the Cloud the Garment thereof, and thick Darkness a Swaddling-band for it, and brake up for it my decreed Place, and set Bars and Doors, and said, Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further : And here shall thy proud Waves be stayed.* So that the same Almighty Power, which then *brake up for the Sea his decreed Place*, and scooped out a new Bed for it to lye in, might dispose of the Materials taken from thence, in forming of Mountains ; and when this heterogeneous Mixture was lifted high into the *Clouds*, and showered down again upon Earth, it did not only rain, but the Water, and Sand, and Earth, and Rock, and Shells, which were taken out of those Fountains, were poured down upon Earth, in *Cataracts* from Heaven, for forty Days. And in order to give the Hills and Mountains that were raised thereby, according to the Appointment and Direction of God, Time to settle and grow firm, lest they should be carried off by the too violent Current of the Waters, on their retiring to their new Bed

Bed, these Waters were miraculously continued upon Earth for 110 Days longer, going then off by gentle Degrees, until the Waters were sunk low enough at the End of 150 Days, for the Ark to rest upon the Mountains of *Ararat*.

And here it may be proper also to observe, that *Moses* says, that then *God made a Wind to pass over the Earth, and the Waters asswaged, and that the Waters returned from off the Earth CONTINUALLY*, or, as it is in the *Hebrew*, *in going and returning*, that is, according to the usual Method of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea. Now it has been before remarked, that the Winds, as well as Tides, owe their Origin to the diurnal Rotation of the Earth round its own Axis. It is therefore more than probable, that, during the first forty Days of this Deluge, the diurnal Rotation of the Earth was suspended, and that, upon the Recommencement of this Motion, the Winds immediately arose, and the Tides returned to their Course. And what gives Countenance to this Notion, is an Expression which God made Use of to *Noah*, when he promised that the Earth should never be drowned again. For, says he, *While the Earth remaineth, Seed-time and Harvest, and Cold and Heat, and Summer and Winter, and Day and Night shall not cease* [2]. From which Expression it is manifest, first, that contrary to the Hypothesis of *Dr. Burnet*, there was *Heat and Cold, Summer and Winter*, as well as *Seed-time and Harvest, and Night and Day*, before the Flood. And, secondly, that they ceased during the Time of the Deluge. For, if we suppose that they, by the wonderful Power of God, *ceased* at this Time, by the Stoppage of the Rotation of the Earth round its Axis; the Expression of saying, that while the Earth remaineth, *Seed-time and Harvest, and Cold and Heat, and Summer and Winter, and Day and Night shall not cease*, will be equivalent to say-

[2] *Gen. viii. 22.*

ing,

ing, that while the Earth remaineth, there shall never be again such another Deluge as this hath been; which is undoubtedly the Meaning of the Text.

It is further to be observed, that, if the Earth was made to stand still, as soon as the diurnal Rotation ceased, the Sea would of Course return to its natural and original Situation, of overspreading the whole Earth; and would rush from under the Equator towards the Poles, with an Impetuosity and Violence, not unlike the Description given of it by *Job*, when he speaks of its having *issued as out of a Womb*. *Job xxxviii. 8.*

And, continues Moses, the Waters were GOING AND DECREASING [3] until the tenth Month, that is, for seventy-three Days longer. And in the tenth Month, on the first Day of the Month, were the Tops of the Mountains seen. And it came to pass at the End of forty Days, that is, on the tenth or eleventh Day of the eleventh Month, that Noah opened the Windows of the Ark, which he had made. And he sent forth a Raven, which went to and fro until the Waters were dried up from off the Earth. And, seven Days afterwards, or on the seventeenth Day of the eleventh Month, he sent forth a Dove from him, to see if the Waters were abated from off the Face of the Ground; that is, from off the low Grounds, for the Tops of the Mountains had been seen forty-seven Days before; And the Dove found no Rest for the Sole of her Feet, and she returned unto him into the Ark: For the Waters were on the Face of the whole Earth. Which shews in what Latitude these eastern Expressions are to be understood, since it is manifest that the Tops of the Mountains had been seen on the first Day of the tenth Month, which was forty-seven Days before the Time of Noah's sending forth the Dove; and therefore it is certain, that this Expression of the whole Earth [4], must only be understood of a great

[3] So it is in the *Hebrew*.

[4] See *Let. XIII. p. 356.*

Part of the low Lands. *And, says Moses, he staid yet other seven Days.* Which is the first Time that *Noah's* waiting seven Days is mentioned ; and therefore this Expression of *Noah's* waiting *other* seven Days, plainly shews that he had waited seven Days before ; which must have been after he sent forth the Raven, and before he sent forth the Dove, as I have taken the Liberty of explaining it in the foregoing Part of this Paragraph. *And again he sent forth the Dove out of the Ark, that is, on the twenty-fourth Day of the eleventh Month, and the Dove came into him in the Evening, and lo, in her Mouth was an Olive-leaf pluckt off : So Noah knew that the Waters were abated from off the Earth. And he staid yet other seven Days, and sent forth the Dove, that is, on the first Day of the twelfth Month, which returned not unto him any more.*

And hence it appears, that in some Parts of the low Lands in the East, as well as in *Ireland*, the Mud of the Deluge had, in some Places, not covered the antient Surface of the antediluvian Earth so high, as to bury the Olive-trees, but that the Dove was able to bring *Noah* a Leaf from thence.

And it came to pass, in a Month afterwards, that is, in the six hundred and first Year of Noah's Age, in the first Month, the first Day of the Month, the Waters were dried up from off the Earth ; and Noah removed the Covering of the Ark, and looked, and behold the Face of the Ground was dry. And in the second Month, on the seven and twentieth Day of the Month was the Earth dried. That is, it was then dry enough for *Noah* and his Family, with all his Beasts and Birds to come forth, for it was a dry Month and twenty-seven Days before at least ; but *Noah* waited, and staid in the Ark until the Moisture was thoroughly exhaled, and Grass and Seeds were grown for the Use of his Birds and Beasts,

And

And God spake unto Noah, and unto his Sons with him, saying, And I, behold, I establish my Covenant with you, and with your Seed after you. Neither shall all Flesh be cut off any more by the Waters of a Flood: Neither shall there be any more a Flood to destroy the Earth. And God said, This is the Token of the Covenant, which I make between me and you, and every living Creature that is with you for perpetual Generations. I do set my Bow in the Cloud, and it shall be for a Token of a Covenant, between me and the Earth. And it shall come to pass, when I bring a Cloud over the Earth, that the Bow shall be seen in the Cloud. And I will remember my Covenant, which is between me and you, and every living Creature of all Flesh; and the Waters shall no more become a Flood, to destroy all Flesh [5].

And here I cannot help taking Notice of a Remark made by *Grotius*, in his Comment on this Passage, where he says, that the three Colours in the Rainbow, denote the three Attributes of God, his *Severity*, his *Clemency*, and his *Beneficence*; which shews, into what silly Conceits learned Men may be led by indulging their Fancies. But I own, that when once the Number *three* was named, I wonder it has never since been made Use of, as an Argument in Proof of the Doctrine of the Trinity: Which Colours, although they are in Reality seven in Number, viz. *Violet*, *Indico*, *Blue*, *Green*, *Yellow*, *Orange*, and *Red*, would do full as well for that Purpose, as the *Four Beasts* in the Book of Revelations, which are made to be an Emblem of it, by the wise Author of a Book, entitled *Elibu*.

Others from this Passage conclude, that there was no such Thing as a Rainbow before the Flood; the Consideration of which may serve for the Subject of our next Correspondence.

I am, &c.

LETTER XIII.

MY LORD,

IN my last to your Lordship, it appeared, that GOD appointed the Rainbow, as a Sign or Token, of his unalterable Resolution, never more to bring upon the whole World such another Deluge of Water, as *Noah's Flood*; from whence many have been tempted to believe, that, during the Time of the antediluvian World, there was never any Rainbow at all.

But this, in my humble Opinion, is a great Mistake, nor do I think it probable, that this Phænomenon could have been suppressed, without repeated Miracles, and the continued supernatural Interposition of Almighty God; who, upon our granting this Supposition, must, even from the Creation of the World to the general Deluge, have suspended the natural Effect which the Rays of the Sun would have upon a Cloud, falling in Rain. And therefore, as in Things which I cannot account for by the regular Course of Nature, I should not be backward to have Recourse to the Divine Power; so neither should I be for introducing, or supposing, a numerous Succession of Miracles, where absolute Necessity did not require it. For in this Case, I think, the Rule laid down by our good old Friend *Horace*, deserves well to be observed,

*Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.*

For as the Rainbow is nothing else but the natural Effect of Sunshine and Rain, at the same Time, when the Spectator stands between the Sun and the Rain, with his Back towards the Sun, and at such a
due

due Distance from the Rain, as to be able to receive upon his Eye, the Rays of the Sun's Light, reflected from an innumerable Quantity of small spherical Drops of falling Rain, I cannot but conclude, that, if there was Rain, as well as Sunshine before the Flood, there must of Consequence have been a Rainbow.

And therefore, I consider the mention that is here made of the Rainbow only as an Institution of it for a Sign, or Token, or Memorial, of the Covenant that was then made between God and *Noah*; as he instituted the Sabbath for a Sign, or Memorial, of the Covenant made between him and the Children of *Israel*, on their Deliverance from the *Egyptian* Bondage, although it had been appointed to be kept holy so long before, as at the Creation of the World, and in Remembrance of it.

Which Commandment of observing the Sabbath, although given at the Creation, and afterwards repeated at Mount *Sinai*; yet *Moses*, before the *Israelites* entered into the Land of *Canaan*, repeats it unto them, and appoints it as a Sign of their Deliverance from the *Egyptian* Bondage, and says, *But the seventh Day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt do no Work, &c. And remember that thou wast a Servant in the Land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence, through a mighty Hand, and by a stretched out Arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath* [6]. And the Prophet *Ezekiel*, when speaking in the Name of God, says accordingly, *Moreover also, I gave them my Sabbaths, to be a Sign between me and them, that they may know that I am the Lord that sanctifieth them* [7].

And, certain it is, that the *Jewish* Sabbath is now kept on the Day of their Departure out of the Land of *Egypt*; but whether on the Day that was appointed at the Creation, or not, no one can tell. For the

[6] Deut. v. 14, 15.
Exod. xxxi. 17.

[7] Ezek. xx. 12. See also

Israelites [8], after they had left *Egypt*, came to the *Wilderness of Sin*, which is between *Elim*, and *Sinai*, on the fifteenth Day of the second Month, after their Departure out of the Land of *Egypt*; and the Sabbath was then re-instituted, and ordered to be kept on the seventh Day following, that is, on the twenty-second Day of the second Month, after their Departure out of the Land of *Egypt*; and so upon every seventh Day, ever afterwards. And as *Moses* and the *Jews* reckoned thirty Days to a Month, it is therefore manifest, that, by counting so many Weeks back to the Time of their leaving *Egypt*, this Sabbath will be found to have been instituted to be kept on that Day seven Weeks, of their Departure out of *Egypt*. And of Consequence it appears, that the *Israelites* had travelled six Sabbath Days, without keeping any Day of Rest to the LORD. Which manifestly shews, if this was the same Day, on which the Sabbath was instituted at the Creation, that, in Cases of Necessity, it might, nevertheless, be dispensed with. But as there can be no Proof made of that, the principal Inference to be deduced, is this, That God, who prefers Mercy to Sacrifice, hath more Regard to the moral Intent, than the literal Observation of any of his Precepts: And as the moral Intent of this Command was, that one Day in seven should be kept holy to the LORD, so it appears, by God's appointing this Day to be kept on the Day of the Deliverance of the *Israelites* from their *Egyptian* Bondage, that God is not solicitous about the particular Day, provided one Day in seven be kept holy, but that it may be changed on solemn and grand Occasions, and may, at the same Time, serve as a Sign, or Memorial, upon more Accounts than one. And therefore it follows of Consequence, that the Christian Observance of the Sabbath, on the Day of the Resurrection of our Saviour, *Jesus Christ*, may be vindicated on the same Principles, with the

[8] *Exod. xvi, 1, &c.*

Jewish Observance of it on the Day of their Departure out of *Egypt*; and that the Rainbow may have been appointed as a Memorial of the Covenant made, after the Deluge, between God and *Noah*, although many Rainbows had been seen before.

Thus, having gone through the History of the Deluge, I nevertheless cannot leave this Subject, without taking Notice of the Name of *Noah*, the Cause of which is thus related by *Moses*: *And Lamech lived an hundred eighty and two Years, and begat a Son, and called his Name Noah, saying, This same shall comfort us concerning our Work, and Toil of our Hands, because of the Ground which the Lord hath cursed* [5]. Many are the Explanations which the Learned have given to this Text; but the best, which hath hitherto been given of it, is that which supposes this Prophecy to have been fulfilled, by the enriching Manure which was thrown over the Face of the habitable Earth, at the Time of the Deluge; by the Fertility of which Mankind were comforted, concerning their Work and the Toil of their Hand, with Regard to the Ground which the Lord had cursed; it being well known, that the most stubborn and barren Soil will be rendered immensely fertile, not only by being manured with Marle, which is always most prolifick, when it abounds most with Sea-shells, but also by a Mixture of common Sea-sand.

To which I shall add a Consideration, from the Disposition of the Mountains, which, by sheltering the Vallies from the Violence of the Winds, and confining the Heat of the Sun, as it were in an Oven, and reverberating the Rays thereof from Side to Side, render the low Grounds warm and prolifick, at the same Time that the Tops of the Mountains, altho' nearer the Sun, are cold and barren; the immediate and direct Rays of the Sun, not having Warmth

enough when unconfined, to melt the Snow that lies upon them, even in the Midst of Summer.

And to this I must also subjoin, as a Consideration of no small Weight, the Advantage that hath accrued to the World from the Deluge, as I before observed [6], by the breaking up of the Fountains of the Abyss; whereby the Sea is become navigable, and the Work and Toil of Man's Hand is greatly comforted, in the ready and easy Conveyance of all the Conveniencies of Life, by Way of Traffick and Commerce, from the most distant Regions of the Earth.

For as in the primeval World, the Sea was gathered together *into one Place*, that is, under the Equator, and there were no Inequalities of any Consequence on the Face of the Earth; there being at that Time no Hills or Vales, but such as were made between the Interstices of the rocky and more firm Ground, by the Force of the Water, when it retreated from the Poles towards the Equator, which furnished Channels for the subsequent Rivers; then, I say, there could be but one Wind continually blowing at Sea, which would be from East to West, so that Ships, if there had been any, could never return to the Place from whence they set out, without sailing round the whole World. For, although in the present *Atlantick* and *Pacifick* Oceans, where the Wind between the Tropics always blows from East to West, Ships, when they would return, sail Northward, in order to get into the Eddy Wind, which naturally blows from West to East, and can thereby make their Passage to and fro; yet we must consider, that, in the antediluvian World, this Eddy Wind blew over Land, the Sea, at that Time, being probably confined nearly within the Limits of the Tropics, or thereabouts.

[6] Letter VII. p. 284.

Whereas, by the Deluge, the Face of the Earth having been rendered unequal, and the Sea being divided into several Parts, some of which extend from Pole to Pole; the breaking up the Fountains of the Abyfs hath not only furnished Harbours for Ships, of which there were none before the Flood, the Sea growing gradually deep from the Shore on either Side to the Equator; but the Capes, and Promontories, and Head-lands, and Islands, and Mountains, that were formed thereby, have produced variable Winds, and many short Seas, by the Means of which, Traffick and Commerce are carried on with great Ease, and every Man at his own Home can enjoy, at a small Expence, the Blessings that are produced in the most distant Parts of the Earth.

Whence it appears, how thankful we ought to be to God, who alone can bring Good out of Evil, for the many and great Advantages which we have received from the Sins of the Antediluvians. For, if the Earth brought forth Briars and Thorns on Account of the Sin of *Adam*, we have reaped an Equivalent by the Flood of *Noah*. In which Sense; he may be said to have fulfilled that Prophecy which was made of him at his Birth, and for which the Name of *Noah*, which signifies *Rest*, was assigned him by his Father, saying, *This same shall comfort us concerning our Work and the Toil of our Hands, because of the Ground which the Lord hath cursed.*

As to the peopling of *America*, I am fully of Opinion with Bishop *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Burnet*, and Mr. *Whiston*, that it is no Impeachment of the Veracity of the Sacred History, to suppose the Continent of *America* to have been separated from that of *Europe*, when the Fountains of the great Deep were broken up, at the Time of the Deluge; in which some few of its Inhabitants, with the Birds and Beasts peculiar to that Country, were, by the Will of God, saved from

from the general Destruction, for the Continuance of the several Species upon Earth. But, that the Sacred Historian takes no Notice of it, any more than he does of what became of *Noah* and the Progeny that was born to him after the Flood, during the Time that he lived afterwards upon Earth, which was 350 Years; in which long Space of Time, it is not to be supposed, that he and his Wife, who was left alive with him, should have no Children; but *Moses* does not take any Notice of it, because the mentioning of this was not necessary to the general Design of this History. Which seems to have been first, to establish the Belief of one GOD, Creator of Heaven and Earth; then to give us an Account of the Fall of Man, and of the subsequent gracious Promise made to *Adam*, that the Seed of the Woman should bruize the Head of that Spirit, who, under the Guise of a Serpent, had contributed to his Fall. In which Promise it is agreed, both by *Jewish* and Christian Divines, that the Promise of a Redeemer under the Character of the *Messiah*, was metaphorically included. And therefore, the subsequent Purport of the Writings of *Moses* in the Book of *Genesis*, is principally calculated to trace out the Birth of the *Messiah* from *Eve*, through *Noah* and *Abraham* to his own Times.

And accordingly, as soon as he hath conducted *Noah* safe out of the Ark, and brought his three Sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, into the Plains of *Shinar*, and dispersed them from thence over the Western World, he says nothing about the Progeny of *Ham*, or *Japhet*, any more than he does of *Noah*; but confines his History entirely to the Posterity of *Shem*, from whence the *Messiah* was to be lineally descended.

And, whereas, it is said by *Moses*, when speaking of the Deluge, that *all Flesh died that moved upon the Earth, both of Fowl and of Cattle, and of Beasts, and*

of every creeping Thing that creepeth upon the Earth, and every Man. All in whose Nostrils was the Breath of Life, of all that was in the dry Land died. And every living Substance was destroyed, that was upon the Face of the Ground, both Man and Cattle, and the creeping Things, and the Fowl of the Heaven, and they were destroyed from the Earth; and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the Ark [7]; it is manifest, from what hath been already [8] said, concerning the Expression made Use of by *Moses*, Gen. viii. 9. where he says, *for the Waters were on the Face of the whole Earth*, that these Words are not always to be strictly and literally interpreted, according to the exact Meaning of the Letter: But that great Allowances are to be made for the elevated Language of the Eastern Nations, who indulged themselves in a warmer Style, and greater Latitude of Expression than is generally practised in these more temperate Regions. They therefore frequently put *the Whole* for the greatest Part; as for Example, where it is said, that *whosoever shall keep the whole Law, and yet offend in one Point, he is guilty of all* [9]; since it is impossible for him who keepeth the whole Law, to offend in one Point: And so in numberless other Places. Which furnisheth us with an Answer to that Objection, that is raised in the Pamphlet attributed to Mr. *Voltaire*, against the Reasonableness of believing the Miracles reported by *Moses*, because, says he, “ it is impossible for us to comprehend, when left to “ the feeble Light of our own Understandings, how “ the *Egyptian* Priests should have worked the same “ Prodigies as *Moses*. As for Example, that they “ should have turned *all* the Waters of *Egypt* into “ Blood, after *Moses* had made this amazing Trans- “ mutation; and how the *Egyptian* Priests could “ have found Water to change into Blood, after

[7] Gen. vii. 21, 22, 23.

[8] Let. XII. p. 346.

[9] James i. 10.

“ *Moses* had already made this strange Metamorphosis [1].” The Force of which Objection depends upon the Word *All*. For, as *Moses* says, that *all the Waters in the River were turned to Blood*, this might even literally have happened to *all* the Waters of the River at the Time when *Moses* struck the River, and yet this Water might have *all* run off, and fresh Water have descended, before the Magicians began their Operation. But if the Word *all* be understood only to denote *a great Part*, and to have included only all the Water in *Egypt*, which was then within Sight of those who were Witnesses of the Miracle, then the Force of the Objection vanishes at once.

And that this was the real Case, the above Quotation out of *Genesis*, concerning the Deluge, is a sufficient Proof; where it is said, that *all Flesh died*, and that *every living Substance was destroyed*, &c. For, that this ought to be understood with certain Limitations, may be sufficiently evinced from a parallel Passage in the Book of *Deuteronomy*. As *Moses* thus expresseth himself, when he speaks of the Destruction of the Inhabitants of the Land of *Sibon*, King of the *Amorites*, by the Children of *Israel*. *And the Lord our God delivered him before us, and we smote him and his Sons, and ALL HIS PEOPLE. And we took all his Cities at that Time, and UTTERLY DESTROYED ALL THE MEN, and the Women, and the little ones of every City, WE LEFT NONE TO REMAIN* [2]. And again, of *Og the King of Basan*, he saith, *So the Lord our God delivered into our Hands Og also, the King of Basan, and ALL HIS PEOPLE, and we smote him, until NONE WAS LEFT UNTO HIM REMAINING. And we UTTERLY DESTROYED them, as we did unto Sibon King of Hesbon, UTTERLY DESTROYING the Men, Women, and Children of every City* [3].

[1] See Part II. Let. III. p. 256.

[2] Deut. ii. 33, 34. [3] Ibid.

And yet it is manifest, that *all* the People, literally speaking, belonging to *Og* and to *Sihon*, were not destroyed. Because the Tribes of *Ruben* and *Gad*, and the Half-Tribe of *Manasseh* had this Land of *Og* and *Sihon* given to them for a Possession; and when they were afterwards about going over the River *Jordan*, to help their Brethren the *Israelites*, in the Conquest of the Land of *Canaan*, they said to *Moses*, *We will build Sheepfolds here for our Cattle, and Cities for our little ones; but we ourselves will go ready armed before the Children of Israel, until we have brought them unto their Place, and our little ones shall dwell in the fenced Cities*, BECAUSE OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE LAND [4]. Whereas, had all these Inhabitants been, literally speaking, utterly destroyed beforehand, there would have been no Need of this Precaution.

And therefore, although I look upon that Part of this Narration, relating to the Destruction of Mankind, and of Birds, and of Beasts, at the Deluge, to be literally true, in Respect only of that Part of the World, in which *Noah* lived before the Flood, and which was afterwards peopled by his three Sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*; yet I cannot but acknowledge, that this Deluge which happened at the Time of *Noah*, must have been general in some Degree; as manifestly appears from the general Elevation of Mountains over the whole World, and from the immense Quantity of Sea-shells, which are frequently found in the most distant Regions of the Earth. Nevertheless, I cannot but suppose, that other Parts of the then habitable World, which, by the Force of the Deluge, were separated into Islands, and were divided from the Continent whereon the Ark landed, were in some Sort exempted from the common Calamity, brought upon the rest of the World by the Deluge; inas-

much as the Continent of *America*, and many Islands in the *East Indies*, are at present partly inhabited by wild Beasts, and noxious Animals, which, it is not reasonable to imagine, that any Body could or would, have imported thither since that Time. Therefore I own, I cannot see any other probable Solution of this Difficulty, than to suppose them protected by the Providence of GOD from the general Destruction, in some extraordinary Manner, for the Propagation of their own Species.

I am, &c.

LETTER XIV.

MY LORD,

HAVING, in my former Letters, been led from the Consideration of a Pebble-stone, to that wonderful Catastrophe, which happened to Mankind and this terraqueous Globe, at the Time of the Deluge; and from thence, to the Examination of the Creation of this World, according to the *Mosaical* System: which I endeavoured, and trust in GOD have effected, to reconcile to Reason and Philosophy, I suppose, you think I ought to leave off troubling you with any more Letters; whereas, your Lordship finds, that, like all other heavy Bodies, when once I am put in Motion, I am not so easily stopped, as you perhaps might have imagined.

And as it was your Curiosity, which first led me round this Globe of Earth, you must give me Leave now, in my Turn, to conduct you a little further, and lead you into the Region of the Spheres. Let us therefore wing our Imagination, and first of all take a View of this Planetary System, and we shall

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find,

find, that this Globe of Earth which we inhabit, and spend our whole Lives in crawling about, is not to be considered as that great Thing which we imagine it to be, when we view it with our bodily Eyes,

In the Days of Ignorance, when this Earth was imagined to have been the Center of the whole Universe, and that the Sun, Moon and Stars, were considered as so many Attendants upon it; before Astronomers had discovered the real Bulk of many of the Planets, and their immense Distance from the Sun; and that this terraqueous Globe, with its circumambient Air, is, along with several other Planets, probably of much the same Nature with itself, carried about the Sun, in their several annual Periods; it is no Wonder if Men vainly imagined, that all those beautiful Luminaries, which spangle in the Skies, were barely made for the Use of Man.

But since these Things have been found out, and it is made manifest that this Ball of Earth, which we inhabit, is as much less than the Orbit of *Saturn*, as a Grain of Sand is less than this Earth, the Consideration of these Things may be of great Use, in abating our own Pride, and exalting our Notions of the great Creator of all Things. Before, therefore, I proceed to consider the History of the Fall and Redemption of Mankind, as delivered to us in the Books of the *Old* and *New Testament*; which I propose, if God spares my Life, some Time or other to lay before your Lordship, I think it may not be improper, to give you a general View of the System of this Universe; and shall begin with explaining this our Solar System, that it is composed of the Sun, and these several Planets, which it hath pleased God to put within the Reach of its Influence; and which are therefore called *Planets*, that is, *Wanderers*, because they have no one certain Station, as those, which are called fixed Stars, have; but are perpetually

ally revolving about the Sun, which is the Center of this whole Planetary System.

Which Planets are divided into two Sorts, *viz.* the *primary* and the *secondary* Planets. The primary Planets are those which originally move round the Sun, as their proper Center; and the secondary Planets are those which move round those primary Planets, as their respective Center, and are carried along with them, wherever they go.

The Number of the primary Planets are six, some of which are larger, and some less, than our Globe; though all taken together, are much less than the Sun itself, which, by a moderate Computation, is seven Hundred Thousand Times larger than our Earth.

Every one of which Planets are, probably, stocked with Inhabitants, as well as this Earth of ours; because they are not in themselves original Luminaries, but enjoy the Benefit of the Light and Heat of the Sun as well as we; and are composed of much the same kind of Materials with us and our Moon; as we may judge by the Reflection of the Light of the Sun from their Bodies, which, like our Moon, are not always equally luminous, but are sometimes dark, sometimes half Light and half Dark, and sometimes in full Light; according to the Situation they are in with Regard to the Sun and us; and therefore reflect just such a Light towards us, as we probably do towards them.

The nearest Planet to the Sun, and the least in Size, is that of *Mercury*, whose Diameter is about 4218 *English* Miles; and is about thirty-two Millions of Miles distant from the Sun. And yet, notwithstanding this vast Distance in Reality, it is, on Account of its apparent Vicinity to it, seldom seen by us; being lost as it were in the Rays of the Sun; so much do Millions of Miles dwindle in our Eye-sight,

fight, when they are removed to a proportionate Distance.

The next Planet is *Venus*, and is nearly as large as our Earth, being seven Thousand nine Hundred and six Miles in Diameter; and its mean Distance from the Sun is fifty-nine Millions of Miles. As this Planet is both further from the Sun, and larger than *Mercury*, we can, by the Help of Telescopes, observe that the Axis of its Poles is inclined to the Plain of its Orbit about the Sun, that is, stands obliquely towards it, as the Axis of our Earth does; and thence it will follow, that the Inhabitants of that Planet enjoy a Variety of Seasons, as well as we.

It is the Opinion of that ingenious Theorist, Dr. *Burnet*, that, before the Flood of *Noah*, the Axis of the Poles of our Earth stood perpendicular to the Plain of its Orbit about the Sun; by which Means, the Sun being always in the Equator, produced a perpetual Equality of Day and Night, as well as a perpetual Equality and Serenity of Seasons: But that the Alteration that was made in the Surface of the Earth, at the Time of the Deluge, gave such a Cast to the Axis of our Earth, as to throw it into the oblique Situation in which it now moves. And I own, I was at first pleased with the Thought. But, upon revolving it over and over again in my Mind, I found upon mature Consideration, that this Conjecture was not only [5] unscriptural, but also unphilosophical; as no fixed Alteration of Weight can be made on the Surface of a Globe, which will be sufficient to change the Inclination of its Axis, from a perpendicular to an oblique Situation, but what will also be sufficient to hinder its Movement afterwards, round its own Axis. And as it is probable, from what was before said, p. 345, that there was a Variety of Seasons, Cold and Heat, Summer and Winter, before the

[5] See Letter XII. p. 345.

Deluge, therefore, I look upon the oblique Disposition of the Axis, both of *Venus*, and of our Earth, to have proceeded from the Will of God, at the Creation of each of them.

The next Planet to *Venus*, is that of our Earth, of which I have said so much already, that I think I need say no more about it, but only to consider its Motions, as a Planet.

This Earth is something larger than *Venus*, its Diameter being about 8000 Miles, notwithstanding which great Bulk, it is, together with its circumambient Atmosphere, or *Heaven*, whirled about the Sun, with a Degree of Velocity, while we sit quiet in our Chairs, or in the open Field, hardly to be credited. For, if we do but consider, that the least Distance which this World of ours is from the Sun, is eighty-one Millions of Miles, it will of Consequence follow, that, to get round the Sun in the Space of a Year, it must, in that Period of Time, perform a Course of 486 Millions of Miles, which requires a Velocity, upwards of 55,000 Miles in an Hour to effect; whereas a Cannon Ball does but move at the Rate of 480 Miles in an Hour. Whence it is manifest, that this Earth, in its annual Orbit about the Sun, moves with a Velocity at least an hundred Times greater than that of a Ball shot out of the Mouth of a Cannon.

Nor is this all: For, as the Circle which this Earth makes about the Sun, is not in one regular Curve, but is indented in Scollops, it must still move so much the swifter, to perform this Kind of Orbit, in the Space of a Year. Which Irregularity in its Course, is owing to the Moon, in moving of which round itself, once every Month, they are both, as I before observed [6], carried round one common Center, by which this intended Motion of the Earth, in its annual Orbit, is occasioned.

[6] Letter VIII. p. 303.

Nor are we to stop here: For, besides all these Motions, this Earth hath also another Motion, whereby it revolves round its own Axis, once in the Space of twenty-four Hours, in order to produce the Vicissitudes of Day and Night. And as this Earth is about 24,000 Miles in Circumference, it is plain, that, to perform this Motion in the Space of twenty-four Hours, it must move at the Rate of a thousand Miles in an Hour. And yet, by Means of the Atmosphere which surrounds us, and to which the Efficacy of this Motion is communicated, as well as to our own Bodies, we sit as unruffled here on the Surface of the Earth, as we do under Deck in a Ship, or in a Coach when it is drawn by Horses.

And here I think it will not be amiss, to say something of our concomitant Planet the Moon, which, although not a primary Planet; yet, on Account of its Vicinity to us, it hath such sensible Effects on our Tides, as hath been before-mentioned, it may not be improper to take some Notice of it in this Place.

The Diameter of the Moon is 2175 Miles, which being something more than a fourth Part of the Diameter of the Earth, therefore the Face of the Earth, when enlightened by the Sun, and turned towards the Moon, will appear to the Inhabitants of that World, fifteen Times larger than the Moon appears to us. And as our Earth will apparently seem to move round them, as the Moon seems to move round us, and will make the same Appearances to them in Changes and Quarters, as the Moon does to us, and will really be to them as a Moon, to all Intents and Purposes; let us consider, if the Inhabitants of the Moon bear the same Proportion to the Inhabitants of this Earth, with regard to their Size, as the Planets bear to each other, that they then will not be above the Height of your Lordship's Knee; and that this Earth must, in that Case, make a most glorious Figure

gure to the Pigmy Inhabitants of that World, when it is in its Full : And, on the contrary, what a dreadful Darknefs, and Confternation it will occafion among them, when our Earth happens to pafs directly between the Sun and them, as it always does in thofe Eclipses which are called Lunar Eclipses, but which to them are Solar ones, or Eclipses of the Sun.

For, in an Eclipse of the Sun to us, the Sun is feldom or never totally eclipsed, on Account of the comparative Smallnefs of the Moon's Body ; and even when that does happen, it is perceived only in one little Spot of the Earth, and that but for four or five Minutes at the longeft. Whereas in a Solar Eclipse to the Inhabitants of the Moon, by the Interpoftion of our Earth between the Sun and them, the Eclipse may not only be total over the whole Body of the Moon, but the Duration of that total Darknefs may be for two Hours. And if our momentary Eclipse can frighten Men fo much as it often hath done, what think you muft be the Diftreffs of the Inhabitants of the Moon, when the Eclipse of the Sun happens to be total ? Which will be more eafily comprehended by the annexed Diagram, than by any Defcription that can be given by Words. See Plate X. Fig. 2.

And as the Moon does not turn round its own Axis, but only round the common Center between us and the Moon, as hath been before defcribed, the fame Side or Face of the Moon is therefore always turned towards us. Hence alfo it arifes, that the Moon may be confidered as divided into two Hemifpheres, the feparate Inhabitants of which, have each of them one Night and one Day, during the Space of one Revolution round this common Center, that is, in about twenty-nine Days and a Half of ours. The Mid-day of thofe who live upon that Hemifphere, or Side of the Moon, which looks towards the Earth, being at the Time of the full Moon, that

that is, when she appears full to us; and their Midnight at the Time of her Change. At which Time we shall be shining in our full Lustre towards them, and furnish them with ample Light, during the nocturnal Season of the Inhabitants of this hither Side of the Hemisphere of the Moon, for all Occupations of Life.

And at this Time, those of her tramontane Inhabitants, who live on that Side of the Moon which is turned from the Earth, will sometimes probably be excited, out of Curiosity, in order to view so glorious a Luminary, to pay a Visit to their Fellow-creatures on this hither Hemisphere, since otherwise they would never have an Opportunity of seeing it.

And here it may be proper to take Notice, that the Obliquity of the Plain of the Moon's Orbit, with regard to the Plain of the Earth's annual Orbit round the Sun, is regulated in such a Manner by the good and wise Author of Nature, that the Moon is always the longest Time above our Horizon, when the Sun is the shortest; and shortest, when the Sun is the longest; so that in Winter, when the Days are short and the Nights long, the Continuance of the Moon above the Horizon, is sometimes sixteen Hours out of the twenty-four, that by her Light she may compensate, in some Degree, for the Want of the Sun.

There is also another Particularity, belonging to the Moon, and that is, that the best Telescopes have never yet been able to discover any Clouds passing between the Sun and it, so that in human Probability, it has no such gross Atmosphere surrounding it, as there is about this Earth, which divides the Waters that are in the Clouds above the Firmament, from the Waters which are under the Firmament. And of Consequence, there can be no Rivers, no bubbling Fountains, nor purling Streams; but possibly the Case may be the same with them, as *Plato* supposeth

supposeth it to be with the Inhabitants of *the happy Islands in Elysium*, and that Air may be to them, what Water is to us; and so the Inhabitants of the Moon, if they may be said to breathe at all, must breathe a fine ætherial Fluid, and always enjoy a perpetual Serenity of Weather.

The next primary Planet to the Earth, is that which is called *Mars*, whose Diameter is four thousand four hundred and forty-four Miles; and its mean Distance from the Sun, is one hundred and twenty-three Millions of Miles. What is remarkable in this Planet is, that the Axis of its diurnal Revolution round its own Center, is perpendicular to the Plain of its annual Orbit round the Sun; from whence it follows, that, as the Sun is always in the Equator, the Inhabitants have equal Days and Nights through the whole Year, and have no Variety of Seasons.

The next Planet in this our Solar System, is *Jupiter*, whose Diameter is eighty-one thousand Miles; and its mean Distance from the Sun, four hundred and twenty-four Millions of Miles. Its Axis, like that of *Mars*, is perpendicular to the Plain of its Orbit round the Sun, and, of Consequence, its Inhabitants also enjoy equal Days and Nights, and have no Variety of Seasons. What is peculiar to this Planet is, that it is by much the largest of any of the Planets, and has four Moons to attend it, which seem necessary, on Account of its great Distance from the Sun, to furnish Sight for its Inhabitants, during the Night Season.

The next and outermost of these primary Planets, in this System, is called *Saturn*; but as, I suppose, you are already sufficiently tired, with the Length of this Epistle, I shall refer the Consideration of that Planet, and the few Reflections I shall make upon the Whole, to my next Letter. *Who am, &c.*

L E T T E R X V .

MY LORD,

WE come now, my Lord, to consider the last of all the primary Planets, which is *Saturn*; whose Diameter is 61,000 Miles, and its mean Distance from the Sun is 777 Millions of Miles. What is peculiar to this Planet is, that, besides five Moons, it is environed also with a Ring, or Belt, which sometimes lieth so obliquely, with regard to the Plain of the Earth's Orbit, and at such a Distance from the Body of *Saturn*, that the fixed Stars may be seen by us between this Belt, and the Body of the Planet. What the Use of this Belt or Ring is, is not agreed upon; but the most probable Conjecture is, that it is to encrease the Light of the Sun, on account of the extreme Distance which this Planet is from the Sun. For, as the Force of the Sun's Light decreases in Proportion to the Squares of its Distance, and as that Planet is nine Times as far from the Sun as we are, the Sight of the Sun is eighty-one Times less in *Saturn* than it is with us. And therefore, this lucid Cloud, which surrounds that Planet in a Ring, may probably be designed by the Creator as a *Lens*, or Burning-glass, to collect the Rays of Sight, and cast them on the Body of the Planet for the Use of its Inhabitants.

From what hath been said of the mean Distance of this Planet from the Sun, as you know the Circumference of a Circle to be nearly equal in Length to three of its Diameters, it will follow, that the annual Orbit of this Planet round the Sun will be a Course of four Dillions, six Hundred and sixty-two Millions of Miles.

Miles. In which Computation, however, we do not pretend to be so exact as not to be mistaken in several Millions of Miles; for as we are not very certain of the real Distance of the Sun from any one Planet, a small Mistake in the first Computation will make a very large one afterwards. But as I have in these Computations given the least assignable Distance, therefore, the annual Course of *Saturn* cannot be less than what I have mentioned, although it may possibly be, and probably is, several Millions of Miles larger; which, however, we Astronomers value no more flinging into the Account, than the richest of our earthly Mites do an Inch or two of Land, when they are setting it by the Acre.

And now having gotten some planetary Ground besides this Earth to stand upon, I shall attempt to build some Structures on it, which you may perhaps call *Castles in the Air*; but which, I can assure you, will nevertheless have a good deal of Solidity in them, and shall be well founded on true Argumentation and solid Reason.

For, my Lord, I would not have you imagine that I was at all this Trouble in setting before you the Distance and Bulk of the Planets, barely to inform you of that which every Treatise of Astronomy could as well instruct you in; but that I had also a further View in recapitulating the Immensity of their Distances, one from another.

For, having considered the several Planets which compose this solar System, and having taken Notice of the Size of their Diameters, their mean Distance from the Sun, and of Consequence pointed out the immense Space of their annual Orbits, and concluded with that of *Saturn*, whose annual Course must, at least, be a Circle of four Billions, six hundred and sixty-two Millions of Miles; I now suppose, that, by this Time, your Ears may be so accustomed to the Sound of Millions of Miles, as to reckon a few Millions a

Matter of no great Consequence. And if so, I can assure you, that, when you proceed to consider the Distances of the fixed Stars from one another, you will regard an hundred Millions of Miles, not so much as you now do one single Cubit.

To convince you of which, I need only give you this one Instance, that the whole Diameter of the Earth's annual Orbit; which amounteth at least to 162 Millions of Miles, is so much less than a Cubit, when compared to the Distance of the fixed Stars, one from another, that it is only to be considered as a Point, or less, if possible, and will best be made appear to you from the annexed Diagram. See Plate X. Fig. 1.

Suppose the Line A B to be the Diameter of the Earth's annual Orbit. And that an Astronomer in the Month of *September* took an Observation of the Star X from the Point B, and marked the Angle with his Line of View made on his Instrument; and that he took another Observation from the Point A to the same Star, in the Month of *March* following, when he would be on the direct opposite Side of the Earth's annual Orbit, or 160 Millions of Miles distant from the Place he was in the preceding *September*; if the two Lines of View, drawn in *September* and *March*, ever made any Angle, the Distance of X would, by the Rules of Trigonometry, be very easily calculated, if the Angle was ever so small; provided it was only assignable in the least Degree. But as you may perceive that the further the Star X is removed from the Line A B, so much in Proportion doth the Angle at X decrease. What then do you imagine must be the Distance of X from the Line A B, when the Point X is so far removed from the Line A B, as to make no sensible Angle at all? Which is the Case of the fixed Stars with regard to us. To which I know your Answer must be, that you have not either Words or Numbers to express it by; unless you make use of some negative Terms, such as infinite or indefinite, &c.

Let

Let us, however, pursue the Thought, and consider, that, if the Distance of the nearest fixed Star is so immense as to want Words or Numbers to express it, what must be the Distance of those that are still as far further from the nearest fixed Star, as the nearest fixed Star is from us? For, as we see a Difference in the Magnitude of the fixed Stars, it is more than probable that this different Appearance in their Size, ariseth from the Difference of their Distance from us. Because, every Improvement in our Telescopes still encreases the Number of the Stars; and rendereth Multitudes of them visible, which are undiscernible to the naked Eye.

But here it ought to be remarked, that although the Brightness of the fixed Stars is encreased by a Telescope, whereby they are rendered more visible, yet their Size is not, which is a great Proof of the Immensity of their Distance; and is likewise a Proof, that they all shine with an original Light of their own, and not with a borrowed Light, as do the Planets. For when the Planets are viewed through a Telescope, they have just the reverse Effect, of the fixed Stars, their Size being encreased by it, but their Light diminished.

Let us therefore draw forth our Telescopes, and view that Groupe of Stars, which twinkle towards the North, and view them one by one, until we find out some so small as almost to elude the Sight. And then let us consider, that if that one which is nearest to us, be at an infinite unmeasurable Distance, how infinitely infinite must the Distance of the remotest of them be? And now turn the Telescope, and view that other Groupe which shineth in the South, and consider them in the same Manner; and then reflect also how infinitely infinite must the Distance of the remotest Stars in the South be from the remotest Star in the North? Look in the same Manner towards the East, and towards the West; above; below; around; and you

B b 2

will

will see the same Kind of Objects. Lay aside then all Numbers, for they are all usefess; and compute by Infinites; and you may go on adding Infinite to Infinite, in an arithmetical Progression, until the infinite Distance between any two fixed Stars dwindleth into nothing. And yet certain it is, that this inconceivable Plenitude of enlightened Matter, which is extended all around us in a spherical Expanse, is nevertheless confined within certain Bounds; and that the unmeasurable Length of Way which stretches between the two most distant Stars, whether visible or invisible, is all finite; and that which is truly infinite, extendeth infinitely beyond all this again [3].

How short then, will you say, is the Line of Man's Understanding, which cannot measure that little, that almost nothing of Distance, which there is, comparatively speaking, between any two of the fixed Stars that are nearest to one another?

Short it is, indeed, and very short. To convince us of which we need not have Recourse to the Skies. For if we do but cast our Eyes round about us, and contemplate those Things which are upon Earth, we shall find that there is not one of all the various Things that surround us, but what containeth something in its Frame and Composition, that surpasses the Wisdom of Man to account for. The little contemptible Particles of Dust which we daily tread under our Feet, are furnished with various Properties, which are beyond the Power of the most subtil Philosopher to explain. And yet, little as they are, their Bulk, when compared with that of some living Ani-

[3] Mr. *Hume*, in his Essay on the Origin of Ideas, when speaking of *Thought*, has this Expression. "Thought can in an Instant transport us into the most distant Regions of the Universe; or even beyond the Universe, into the unbounded *Chaos*, where Nature is supposed to lie in total Confusion." What a Chaos of Confusion is there in this Proposition? What an Heap of Absurdities? What a ridiculous Idea is here given of Nature, of infinite Space, and of God?

mals that are made visible to us by the Help of a Microscope, is inconceivably great. For, Mr. *Leuwenhoek* asserts, that upon viewing the *Milt* or *Semen Masculinum* of a Cod-fish, with a Microscope, such Numbers of Animals with long Tails were found therein, that at least ten thousand of them might well be supposed to exist in a Drop of Fluid no bigger than a Pin's Head [4]. And that upon opening the seminal Vessels of a Cock, which he had killed, and squeezing out a small Drop of the *Semen*, and viewing it in a Microscope, Legions of Animals appeared therein, swimming in Crouds together, and crossing one another with wonderful Briskness and Vigour; whose Size was so extremely minute that a Million of them might be supposed not to exceed the Bigness of a Grain of Sand [5].

If then the Things which are upon Earth puzzle the Understanding, how shall we comprehend the Things which pertain unto Heaven? If those Things with which we daily converse, which our Eyes have seen, and our Hands have handled, are too mighty and too wonderful for us; if we know not our own Things, and such as are grown up with us; how shall we comprehend the Way of the most Highest?

And now you will ask, Of what Use then is all our Wisdom and all our Learning? It is to teach us our own Ignorance, and to convince us of our own Impotence; and thence to refer us to the one, only wise, infinite, eternal God, Creator, Governor, and Protector of all Things; in whom we live and move, and have our Being.—For this is our Wisdom, and our Understanding is this.

And to find out this, we do not stand in Need of Glasses. For, *that there is a GOD, all Nature crieth aloud in all its Works.* Or, as St. Paul expresseth it, *The invisible Things of GOD from the Creation of the*

[4] Arc. Nat. Tom. I. Part II. p. 9.
Part II. p. 369.

[5] Id. Tom. II.

World, are clearly seen, being understood by the Things that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead. Or, as the most elegant Author of the Book of Wisdom hath oratorically worded it, Surely vain are all Men by Nature who are ignorant of GOD, and could not out of the good Things that are seen know him that is ; neither by considering the Works, did they acknowledge the Work-master : But deemed either Fire, or Wind, or the swift Air, or the Circle of the Stars, or the violent Water, or the Lights of Heaven, to be the Gods which govern the World. With whose Beauty if they being delighted, took them to be Gods ; let them know how much better the Lord of them is ; for the first Author of Beauty hath created them. But, if they were astonished at their Power and Virtue, let them learn from thence, how much mightier he is that made them. For, by the Greatness and Beauty of the Creatures proportionably the Maker of them is seen [6].

And, indeed, if we do but open our Eyes, and cast them round about us, and survey the Host of Heaven, we may, without the Help of Glasses, perceive that this planetary System of ours is environed all around with Stars of various Magnitudes, whose Numbers cannot be assigned. And shall we poor Reptiles imagine this vast Apparatus of God's Handy-work, the invisible as well as the visible Host of Heaven, were made only for the Use of Man, to enlighten the bewildered Traveller in the Night ; none of which, except the Moon, giveth him so much Light, but that he would be better pleased with a Lantern and Candle ?

Or, shall we not rather conclude, that those Stars, which shine like our Sun, with an unborrowed Light from any Original but their great Creator, were formed for the Use of some intelligent Beings, who are capable of enjoying the Benefit of that Light and Heat which they dispense abroad ? And of Consequence, that each of these Stars, which are at such

immense Distances from each other, may, as so many Suns, be the Center of some planetary System of its own, where the several intelligent Beings which inhabit those revolving Worlds, that are placed by Almighty God at their due Distances from this Sun of theirs, and within the Sphere of its central Activity, shall reap the Benefit of its benign Influence, and laud and magnify the great Creator's Name?

In which Article of Faith and religious Worship, they, and we, and all created Intelligences, who are dignified with a Power of Reflection, do, or ought to agree, let their Natures and their Relations to one another, or their Modes and Manner of Worship be ever so various. For, although we should suppose each of these different numberless Planets to be inhabited by thinking Beings, who widely differ from each other in their bodily Frame and Constitution, or in the Power of their Understanding, or in the Forms and Ceremonies of their Religion, in this they must all agree, to worship God. And although we should suppose that they may have their separate and distinct guardian Angels, Intercessors, and Mediators between them and the supreme God; yet, in this Act of Devotion, we and they, and all created moral Agents of what Rank or Degree soever, whether Angels or Archangels, Cherubims or Seraphims, must all unite, to adore the one only supreme God, who is the Creator and Preserver, not only of this or that particular Planet, but of the universal World. And therefore, we ought to consider this whole Universe as one Community of Spirits, which may all contribute to compose one grand System with God at their Head.

And, as to the Objection which your Lordship was pleased to make, when I last had the Honour of conversing with you on this Subject, with regard to the seeming Confusion and irregular Disposition of the fixed Stars, that is owing to the particular Station of our little World in the grand System of the Universe,

and not to the real or irregular Disposition of the Stars with Reference to one another; which may be adjusted with the greatest Symmetry, and placed in the most beautiful Order, with regard to some one Point of View, and yet seem irregular and confused, if viewed from any other Point whatsoever, as may appear from the annexed Diagram. See Plate XI. Where the several Stars, when viewed from the Center A, are, and would appear, all to be in regular Order; whereas, if they were to be viewed from the Point B, which I will suppose to be our Sun, they would appear to be nothing else but a Heap of Confusion. For, as the human Eye, after certain Limits, is no Judge of Distances, all the Stars appear to us as if they were set in one extended Plain. And of Consequence, although we might suppose the fixed Stars to be situated with regard to one another, in as regular a Disposition as they are in the annexed Plate, and that the whole Globe of the universal Creation was regularly filled with them; unless our little Atom of a World was placed in the Center of the Whole, the View and Prospect of the Skies must exactly make the same irregular and confused Appearance that it doth at present.

And, if every one of these Stars may reasonably be supposed to have a Planetary System revolving about itself, well might our Saviour say, that *in his Father's House are many Mansions*. And with the same Reason might the holy Psalmist exclaim and say, *What is Man, O GOD, that thou art mindful of him, or the Son of Man that thou so regardest him!*

Not that I desire these Thoughts to be raised in your Imagination to diminish your Thankfulness to God for your own Creation; for why should your Eye be evil, because he is good? But to open your Mind by enlarging your Thoughts of the divine Omnipotence; and that you may despise those narrow minded Mortals, who imagine the Power and Goodness

ness of GOD to be limited within the Bounds of their own Planet ; or, what is infinitely worse, who suppose *the Kingdom* of that supreme GOD [7], *whom the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain*, to be confined within the stinted Limits of some narrow Sect.

And now, I might proceed to consider those angelical Beings who are not appointed to dwell in any of these Planetary Regions, as their fixed Abode ; but being the *Messengers* of that Almighty GOD, who sitteth enthroned in the Center of this unbounded Universe, where the more immediate Presence of his refulgent Glory may manifest itself to those exalted Beings whom he is pleased to honour with this beatific Vision ; and where they may receive those Commands which he is pleased to communicate to them, and trust them with the Execution of, either in passing from World to World, or in taking Care of such Worlds as are committed to their Charge ; concerning which, although I *have many things to say unto you*, that are necessary towards the Explanation of the History of the Fall and Redemption of Mankind, yet I think it prudent to defer the Consideration of them for some Time, because, I fear, *you are not able to bear them*.

Who am,

My Lord, &c.

[7] Josh. xxii. 22. 2 Chron. ii. 5, 6.

Plate 1. *fig. 1* PART II

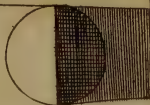


fig 2

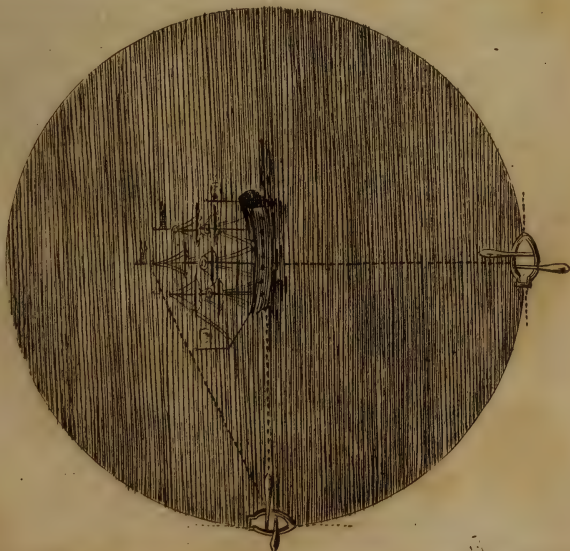
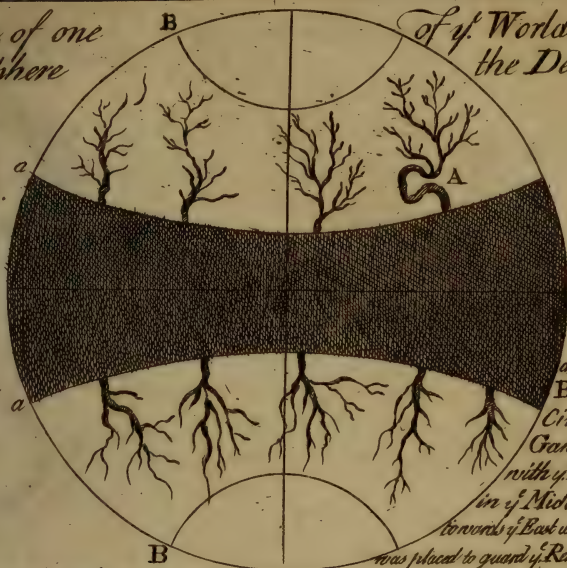


Plate 2. PART II.

A Plan of one Hemisphere

Plate. 3.
PART. II.

Of y^e World before the Deluge.



*a The Tropicks
B The Polar
Circles A The
Garden of Eden
with y^e Tree of Life
in y^e Middle scy Entrance
to worlde y^e East where y^e Cherubim
was placed to guard y^e Return of Adam & Eve*

A Plan of One Hemisphere

Plate. 4.
PART. II.

Of y^e World since the Deluge.



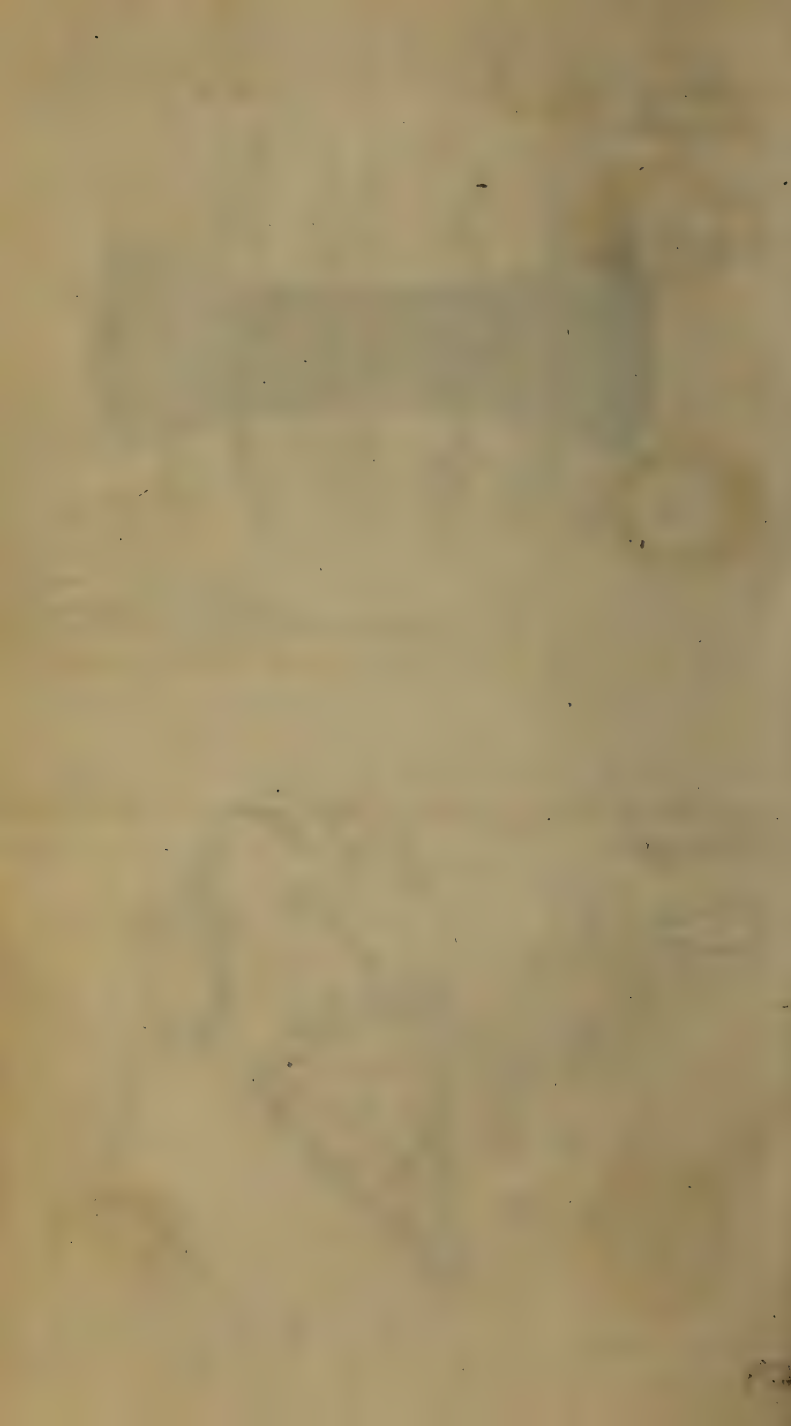


Plate. 5. *fig. 1* PART. II.

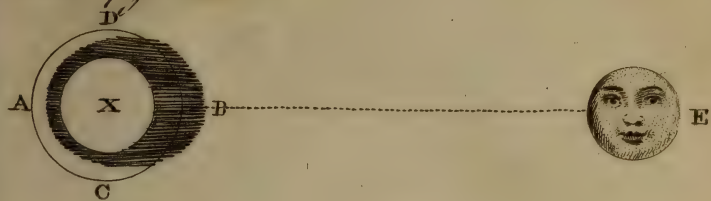


fig. 2.

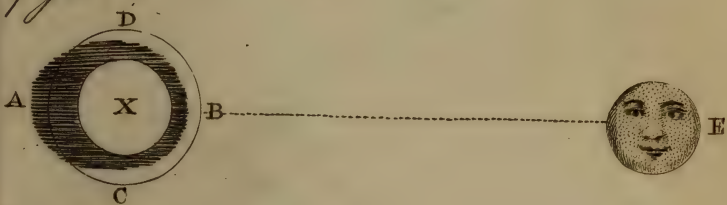


Plate. 6. *fig. 1* PART. II.

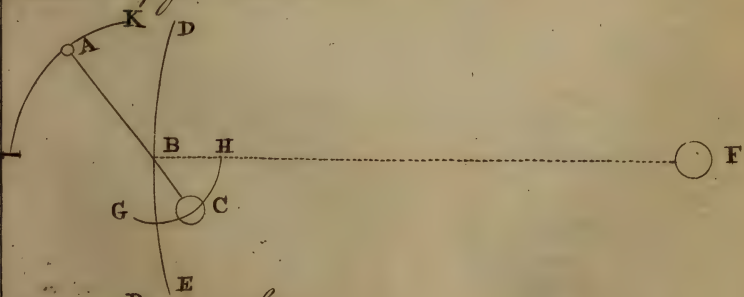


fig. 2.

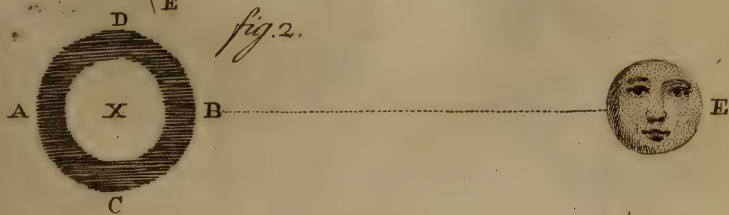
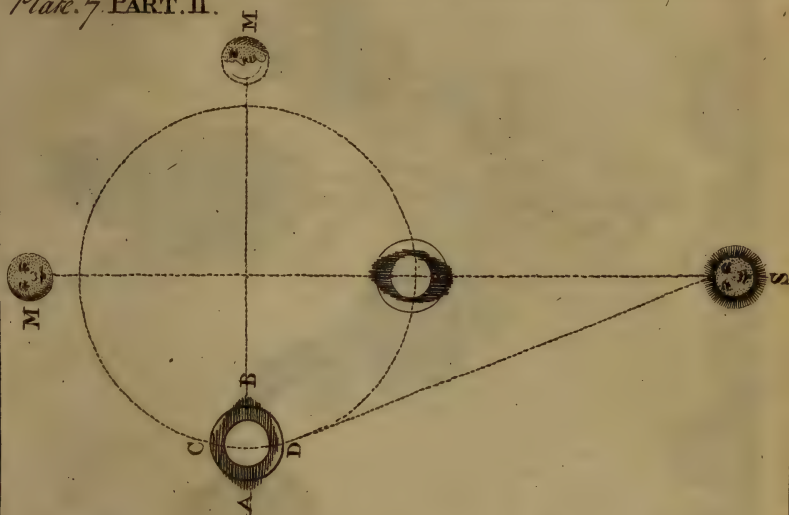


Plate. 7. PART. II.



Plate, 8. PART. II.

fig. 1.

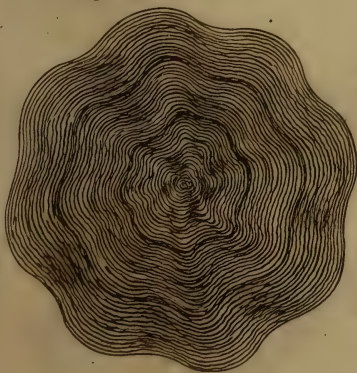


fig. 2.

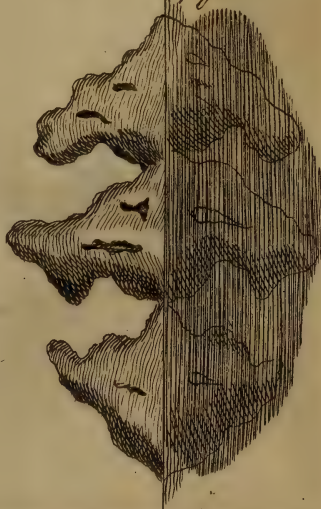


Fig. 1





Fig. 2.



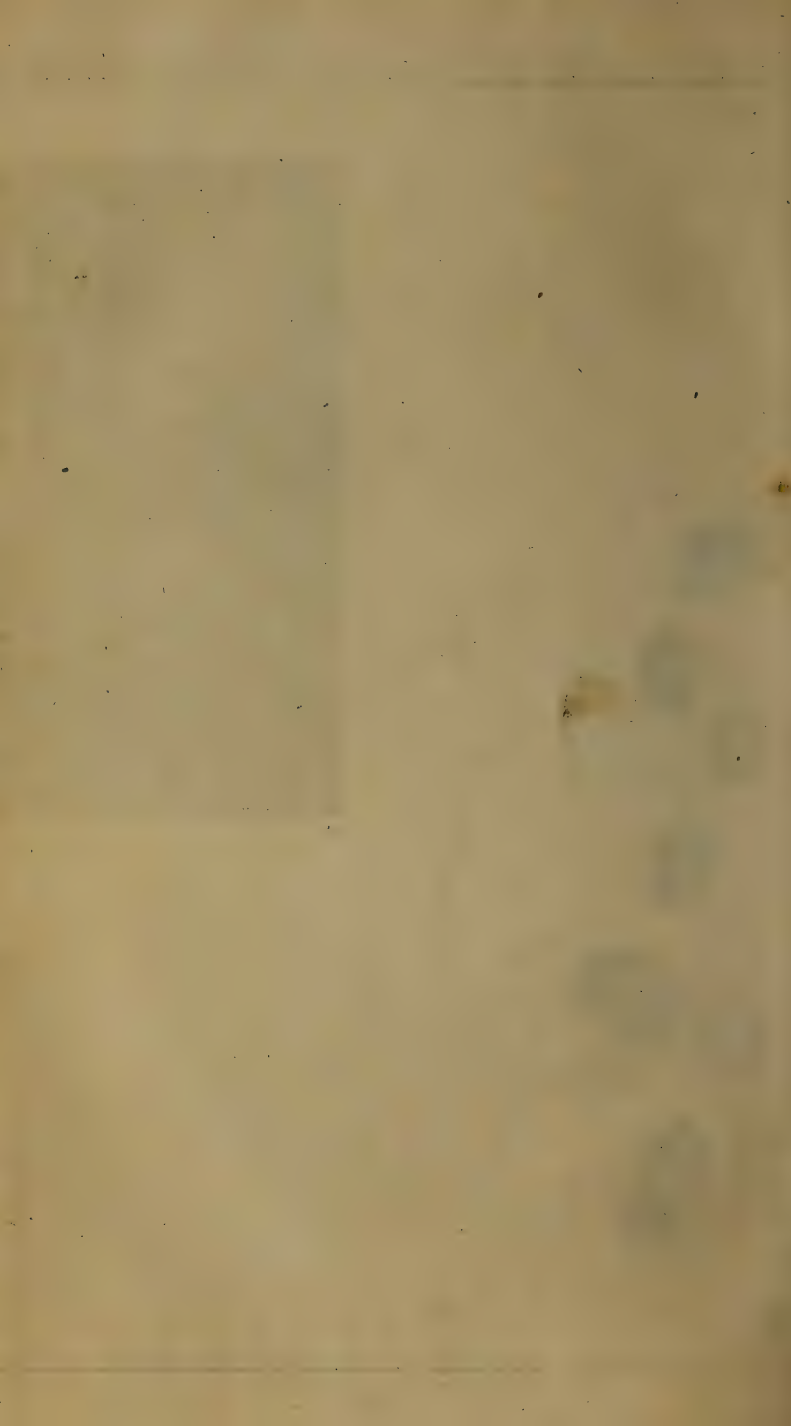
Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 3.



Plate, 10. fig. 1. PART. II.



fig. 2 p 180.

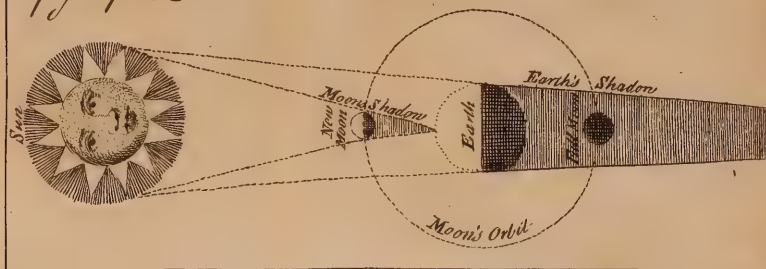
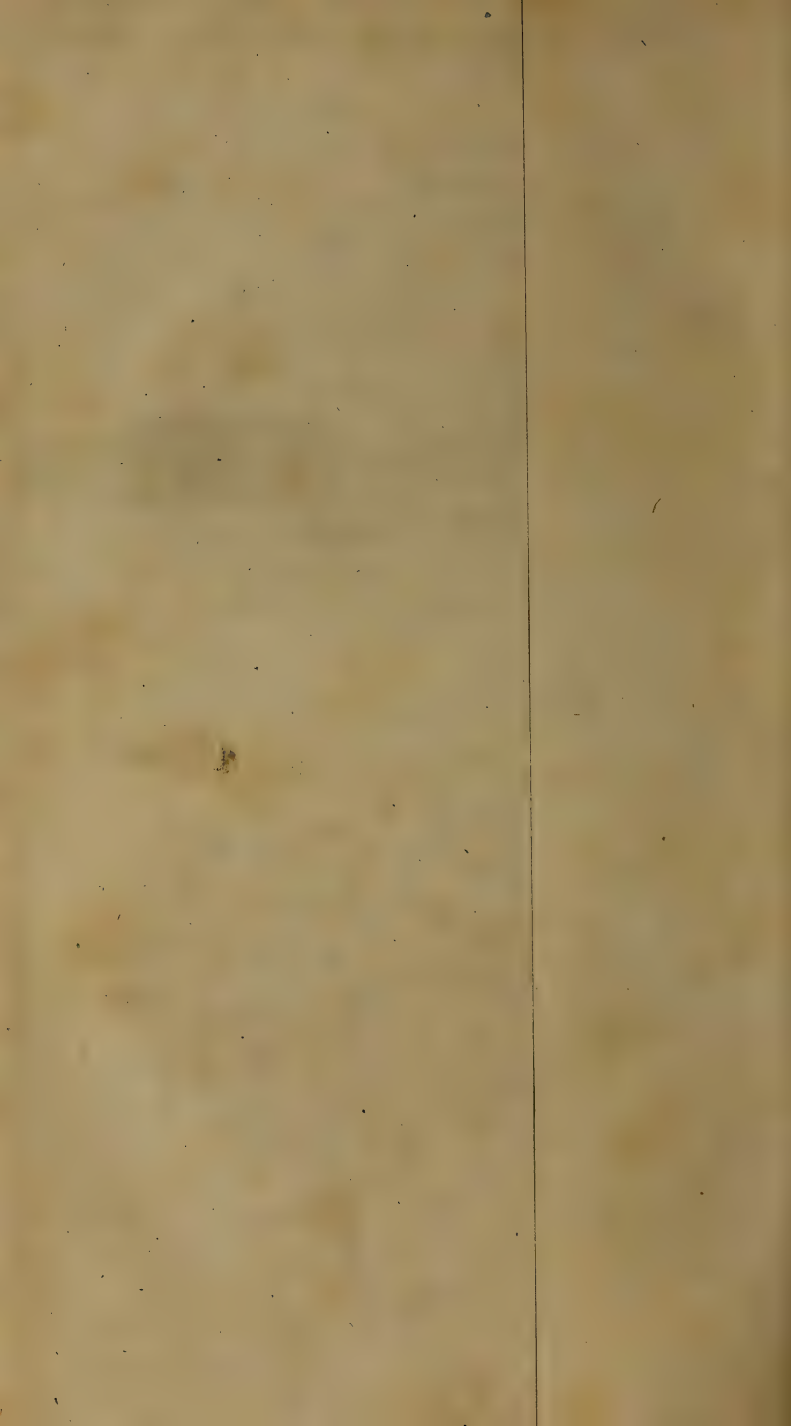


Plate 11. PART. II.





A
VINDICATION
OF THE
HISTORIES
OF THE
OLD and NEW TESTAMENT.
PART III.

Containing some OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
NATURE of ANGELS,

And the SCRIPTURAL ACCOUNT of
'The Fall and Redemption of MANKIND.

In a SERIES of LETTERS to a
YOUNG NOBLEMAN.

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
HISTORIES
OF THE
OLD and NEW TESTAMENT.

PART III.

LETTER I.

MY LORD,

SOME Years ago, when I did myself the Honour of writing to your Lordship concerning the Petrification of Fossils, and was led to the Consideration of the Mosaical Account of the Creation and Deluge, and the Reconciliation of them with Reason and Philosophy; I then attempted to proceed further, in order to open and enlarge your Mind, by giving you some View of other Worlds besides those which are contained in this Solar System: And proposed entering into the Consideration of Angels, of which there is so much Mention made in Holy Writ; and concerning which I had many Things to say unto you, but deferred

ferred any further Proceeding at that Time, because I was afraid you was not then able to bear them.

And having been since called upon to vindicate the Authenticity of the Histories both of the Old and New Testament, from the Objections raised against them by the late Lord *Bolingbroke*; in the first Part of that Work I remarked, that Mr. *Hume* in his *Essays moral and political* [1], when speaking of philosophical Devotion, which he says, is “the Effect of high Spirits, “great Leisure, a fine Genius, and a Habit of Study “and Contemplation,” addeth, “But, notwithstanding all these Circumstances, an abstracted invisible “Object, like that which Reason alone presenteth to “us, cannot long actuate the Mind, or be of Moment in Life. To render the Passion of Continu- “ance, we must find some Method of affecting the “Senses and Imagination, and must embrace some “historical, as well as some philosophical Accounts “of the Divinity.”

Upon which, the Observation I then made was this. That as Mr. *Hume* ingenuously acknowledges, that natural Religion will not furnish us either with historical, or philosophical Accounts of the Divinity, if we would have any such Accounts, we must have Recourse to Revelation. For, if we believe that God acteth with Men according to the moral Fitness of Things, we cannot but suppose, that God hath given us some such Accounts of the Divinity, in order to actuate the Mind with Devotion; and hath discovered to us some Method of affecting the Senses and Imagination, on Purpose to render that Passion of Continuance, and to make it of Moment in Life. Which, I then said, I hoped I should be able to convince your Lordship hath really been performed in the Books of the Old and New Testament, whenever I should send you those additional Letters, which I gave your Lordship some Reason to expect at the

[1] *Hume*, *Ess.* xxi.

Close of our former Correspondence: And, which I trust in God, I have since executed in those Letters, which, though last written, were first printed. Wherein I endeavoured to shew, that the Books of the Old and New Testament carry with them all the outward, as well as inward, Evidence of a divine Revelation, that the Nature of the Thing will bear.

I likewise mentioned, that in order to understand either the *Jewish* or *Christian* Religion, as revealed in the Scriptures, we must consider that we are informed therein of other intelligent Agents, beside either God or Man, which have an Influence in the Transactions of this World. And, that therefore we ought to consider this whole Universe as one Community of Spirits, which may all contribute to compose one grand System, with God at their Head; in which an infinite Number and Variety of Beings, beside Mankind, may be concerned, and which we must take into the Account, before we can frame any tolerable Notion of the Administration of God's Providence in the *Jewish*, or *Christian* Dispensations; that is, either of the Fall of Man by the Temptation of *Satan*, or of the Redemption of Mankind by the Sufferings of the *Messiah*. And therefore, I now sit down with a Design of pursuing this Scheme, and performing my Promise.

But, before we proceed any further, I cannot but observe, that this Concession, here made by Mr. *Hume*, of the Insufficiency of natural Reason with regard to Religion, is very strong; and accounts in some Measure for the Conduct of those Persons, who setting out on the Principles of Deism alone, too frequently, thro' a Want of Belief in some historical Account of the Divinity, whereby to actuate their Senses and Imagination, conclude their Enquiries in Scepticism, or Atheism. Whence one would be apt to conclude that it was the original Design of our Creator, that Reason and Revelation should go Hand in Hand together; and that Reason, in its natural State, is to be looked
upon

upon as a rough Diamond, covered over with a thick Crust, which must be cut through, and polished by Revelation, before it will give its true Lustre.

For, though it is natural to think that Reason alone might be a sufficient Guide to rational Creatures; and a sufficient Test, without the Aid of Revelation, for the Discrimination of the Righteous from the Wicked; and although at present, nothing is more easy and plain to be seen than that there is but *one* GOD, *eternal, immortal, invisible*, and that the Justice of this GOD in the Government of this World, as at present administered, is not to be vindicated without a Reference to a future State; yet Matter of Fact it is, that the Generality of the Heathen World did not see it; and that even *Socrates* and *Cicero* had but an imperfect Glance of it; and this Glympse probably owing to some traditionary Revelation delivered from the *Hebrews* to the *Egyptians*, and from the *Egyptians* to those *Græcian* Poets from whom *Socrates* [2] declareth he received his own Information. For Experience sheweth, beyond all Contradiction, in those Countries where the Light of Revelation hath never shone, that natural Reason is very insufficient to instruct Mankind in the Duties of Religion, and that the Natives of those Countries, as in *America* for Example, are to this Day an idolatrous, rude, uncultivated, barbarous People; who, for Want of some true historical Account of the Deity, whereby to actuate their Senses, generally form to themselves an imaginary one. And if they are free from some of those hypocritical Vices, which are practised in the politer Regions of the World, this does not arise from their Innocence, but their Ignorance; lay but Temptations before them, give them but an Opportunity of gratifying their more brutal Passions of Drunkenness, Revenge, or Lust, and you will see with how shameless, and un-

[2] Plato in *Phæd.*

bounded an Avidity, they will indulge their Appetites.

Human Reason is distributed by Almighty God in such a Proportion as may serve to be a moral Guide to all Mankind in this State of Probation and Trial, in which their Conduct *will be accepted according to that a Man hath, and not according to that he hath not*; and they who have no better Law, will be *a Law unto themselves*. But, although it is their best, it is by no Means an infallible Director; and even where it is improved by Knowledge and Experience, and unadulterated by Passion, is yet liable to Mistake and Error. But when it is rude and uncultivated, blinded by Ignorance, and vitiated by Passion, it is then apt to run headlong into Error, and frequently fixes its final Determination in obstinate Perverseness. And, as these are Matters of Fact which cannot be denied, it is in vain to say, that under these Circumstances a Revelation from God of some true History of the Divinity, and of the Methods of rendering ourselves acceptable to him, would not be of Use to Mankind. Why it hath pleased God to form, or permit Mankind to be formed, after so imperfect a Manner, as to stand in Need of a Revelation, is another Question, and may furnish Matter for a subsequent Epistle[3]: But, under the present Circumstances of human Nature, it is vain to assert, that a further Revelation of the divine Will, than that which unassisted Reason can alone afford, would not be of Service to Mankind.

But, now I see your Lordship will ask, what I think of the moral Writings of *Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, or Epictetus*? To which I answer, that it was with them as it is with us at present in Regard to the *West Indies*; the Way to which is now easily found out after it was once discovered by *Columbus*. For it is plain to be seen, that they have raised themselves

[3] See Letter VII.

from the Ground on the Shoulders of *Plato*. And, it is as manifest, from the Account which *Plato* giveth of the Formation of the World [4], that he had read the Books of *Moses*. And yet, whoever compares this Original with all the Copies that have been drawn from it, must perceive that there are none which come up to it; that all the moral Precepts delivered by all the moral Writers put together, fall infinitely short of the 20th Chapter of *Exodus*; and, that the Law of the two Tables alone, exceedeth all human moral Compositions, that were ever published, both with Regard to the Shortness, Strength, and Extent of the Precepts, as well as the Utility of the Manner of their Promulgation.

But, if your Lordship further persisteth, and asketh why those Persons, such as Lord *Bolingbroke*, &c. who have been bred up under the Influence of Revelation, and who seem to have no End, but the Love of Truth in their Pursuits, when they find natural Religion insufficient for their Purposes, have not Recourse to Revelation rather than Infidelity? To this I must reply, that the Cause of it seemeth partly to be owing to their own prejudiced and confined Way of Thinking on this particular Subject; and partly to the Misconduct of those with whom the Publication of Revelation hath been entrusted.

For, as to the Preachers of the Gospel, they, as Lord *Bolingbroke* himself observes, are not content with having Revelation itself, that is, the *Old* and *New Testament*, either published to the World in the Original, or in good Translations, nor even with having only “such Articles of Faith, or Points of
“ Doctrine, established, as are clearly revealed in the
“ Gospels; but require our Belief to an artificial Sy-
“ stem of Theology of their own Composition, by
“ which genuine Christianity is perverted in a Multi-
“ tude of Instances, conformable neither to the Reli-

“ gion of Nature, nor to Gospel Christianity, but
 “ often repugnant to both [5].”

The Truth of which Assertion cannot be denied, as being too evidently practised, not only in Popish, but also in Protestant Countries. Thus, for Example, in a neighbouring Protestant Nation, the Belief of the Mahometan and Calvinistical Doctrine of Predestination, the Doctrine of antecedent Grace, and the *Athanasian* Explanation of the Mystery of the Trinity, are all equally established in the same Set of Articles with the Belief of God and his *Christ*; and are enforced under the same Penalties of Excommunication with the Dis-belief of the Sacred Writings of the *Old and New Testament*.

Now, I will venture to assert, that to a rational Enquirer after Truth, the *Mahometan* and *Calvinistical* Doctrine of Predistination, as well as the Doctrine of antecedent Grace, must terminate in the Doctrine of a *Fatality*; and in an absolute Denial of the Freedom of the human Will. So that while such Doctrines are established in any Country as the Doctrines of Revelation, the Change of Opinion from Infidelity to a Belief in such a Revelation, cannot be hoped for with any Degree of Confidence.

But that, which seemeth to give most Offence both to *Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks* of all Denominations, is the *Athanasian* Explanation of the Doctrine of the Trinity; which indeed seemeth not only contradictory to common Sense, but also to the Scriptures both of the *Old and New Testament*. For, the *Old and New Testament* represent the *Messiah* as being the *Mediator* between the Supreme God and Man; whereas the *Athanasian* Doctrine will not allow him to be an intermediate Being, as the Term *Mediator* naturally implies, but to be a Composition of two Parties, *perfect GOD, and perfect Man*. The Scriptures

represent the *Messiah* as being a separate and distinct Agent from God the Father, and as acting in *Obedience* to his *Commands*; but the *Athanasian* Doctrine will have him to be the supreme God himself; and asserts the Father and Son, the Begetter and the Begotten, to be still one and the same undivided Substance or Being; and is not content with declaring the Son to be of the same Kind of Essence with the Father, but insists upon his being the same *undivided*, or individual Essence, or Being, with the Father. The Scriptures represent the *Messiah* as having been sent upon Earth, *not to do his own Will, but the Will of the Father which sent him* [6]; but the *Athanasian* Doctrine will have the Person sending, and the Person sent, still to be but one and the same Being, and to have but one Will, not only in Harmony, or Agreement, but in Reality. For, as Lord *Bacon* expresseth it, “ a Christian (that is, a Christian according to the Sentiments of *Athanasius*) is one that believes Things his Reason cannot comprehend.—He believes three to be one, and one to be three; a Father not to be older than his Son; a Son to be equal to his Father; and one proceeding from both, to be equal with both; he believing three Persons in one Nature, and two Natures in one Person [7].” And Dr. *South*, speaking of the same Opinions, says, “ that if they were not to be adored as a Mystery, they would be exploded as a Contradiction [8].” And I desire your Lordship will now tell me, whether you think that such Doctrines as these are likely to gain over many thinking Persons from Deism to Revelation?

But, here it is worthy of your Lordship’s Notice, that Lord *Bacon*, who was no great Favourite with the Clergy, sheltered himself from their Resentment for this Description which he here giveth of a Chri-

[6] John iv. 34. v. 30. [7] Bacon’s Works, Vol. III. p. 504.

[8] South’s Sermons, Vol. III.

stian, under that well-known Apology, of believing Things which our Reason cannot comprehend. As if Faith and Reason were to be kept at perpetual Variance; or, like the two Ends of a Balance, were always one of them to be up, when the other was down. Whereas, as I before observed to your Lordship [9], it is absurd for a rational Creature to believe any thing, unless he hath some Reason for believing it. And, in my humble Opinion, a Reason, which he cannot comprehend, is to him no Reason at all. +

Let us sift this Question a little, because it is much insisted on, and see how far a reasonable Person ought to believe any thing, which is above his Reason, or which, in other Words, he cannot comprehend. And first, it ought to be observed, that the Virtue or Merit of Believing does not consist barely in Believing; for then the most credulous Persons would be the most virtuous or meritorious Believers, which is absurd. But the Virtue or Merit of Believing, consists in believing upon reasonable Grounds.

Now, a reasonable Ground for Belief, may either proceed from the Nature and Reason of the thing itself, or from Testimony; the highest Degree of which is the Testimony of God, because he can neither be deceived himself, nor deceive others. Which Species of Belief is commonly distinguished by the Name of *Faith*, as the Testimony of God is commonly known by the Name of *Revelation*. And in this Sense alone it is, that I shall make Use of these Terms, *Faith* and *Revelation*. Let us therefore enquire how far any Person ought to believe any Revelation, the Purport of which he does not comprehend. I say *ought* to believe, for the Question is not, what he may or can believe, but what he ought to believe; since some Men are so absurd as to believe, not upon the Testimony of God, but on the Testimony of Men, some of the most ridiculous Fables that can be invented.

[9] See Part II. Let. III. p. 38.

It ought therefore further to be observed, that although it is our Duty to believe every thing to be true, which is undoubtedly revealed by GOD; yet any Additions to, or Deductions from, this *Revelation*, which are made by fallible Men, as they are no Part of the *Revelation*, are therefore no Objects of our *Faith*. We may believe those Inferences or Deductions if we please; but we are by no Means necessarily obliged to do so. Because, that as these Additions or Deductions are not the Testimony of GOD, but the Reasonings of Men, they ought not to be considered as, and therefore never to be made, an Article of *Faith*.

It must be acknowledged, that whatever is revealed by GOD must be true in some Sense or other; this however is generally allowed, that it ought not to be believed as true in that Sense in which it is contradictory to our Reason. And therefore, when our Saviour says, *I am the Door*, and *I am the Vine*, &c. as it is contradictory to common Sense to suppose these Propositions to be literally true, therefore they are only acknowledged to be true in a spiritual or figurative Sense. For the same Reason, the Words made Use of by our Saviour at the Institution of the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, when he took *Bread* and *Wine*, and said, *This is my Body*, and *This is my Blood*, are understood by all Protestants to be true in a spiritual or figurative Sense only; because it is contradictory to common Sense to believe them to be true in a literal one.

But further. Whatever Proposition contains a manifest Contradiction in itself, cannot possibly be true; and therefore ought not to be believed, because no such Proposition can come from GOD. St. Paul says to the *Galatians*, "But though we, or an Angel
" from Heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you,
" than that which we have preached unto you,
" let him be accursed [1]." The Reason of which

[1] Gal. i. 8.

is, because two contradictory Gospels cannot possibly be both true. And therefore the Reasoning holds so much the stronger against any one Proposition being true, when the Terms in it are contradictory the one to the other. As for Example: Suppose an Angel from Heaven should say, that the Son of God was begotten before all Worlds, and yet was self-existent; as the two Terms of being *begotten*, and being *self-existent*, are contradictory Terms, I would with St. Paul say, let him be accursed; as such an Angel could not possibly be an Angel sent from God.

But there is a Distinction made between believing Things that are contradictory to our Reason, and believing Things that are only above our Comprehension. Let it be so; and then let us see how far we ought to believe things that are above or beyond our Comprehension. Now things may be above or beyond our Comprehension, either as to the *Matter* or the *Manner* of them. They may be above or beyond our Comprehension as to the *Matter* of them, when the Terms of the Proposition are unintelligible; and they may be above or beyond our Comprehension, as to the *Manner*, when the Reason of the Thing, or the *Manner how*, is not made intelligible to us. Let us consider each of these separately, and first, as to *the Manner how*.

And let us suppose that an Angel from Heaven, of the Divinity of whose Mission there was no Doubt, should appear to a Person in *Africa*, who had never seen any Ice or Snow, and should inform him, that in the Northern Parts of this Globe, at certain Seasons of the Year, the Waters of the Rivers congealed into so hard and solid a Substance, that whole Armies of Men, with all their Cannon and other heavy Baggage, passed over them with the same Ease as they did over dry Land. It is certain, that this *African* ought to believe the Matter of Fact as related by the Angel, because he can so far com-

prehend him, as he understands what is meant by Armies marching as it were on dry Ground. But *how*, or in what Manner the fluid Waters are so far congealed as to lose their Fluidity and become a solid and fixed Substance, as that is the *Mystery* which he cannot comprehend, that is no Object of his Faith; not only because he cannot comprehend it, but, indeed, because it was not revealed unto him. He may form Conjectures about it, or some of his own Species may help him to reason on the Subject, and he may believe those Conjectures to be true; but that is no Part of his Faith. For, by the Word *Faith* I would, to avoid all Cavils, be understood to mean only our Belief in a God, or in a divine Revelation. And therefore, as the Manner *how* the Waters are turned into Ice was not revealed to him by the Angel, it is therefore no Object of his Faith.

Let us again suppose this Angel should inform this *African*, or any other Man, that there were three Persons in Heaven, called Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that these three were *one*; there is no Manner of Doubt, but that the Person to whom the Revelation was made ought to believe that what the Angel said was true, though he could not comprehend the Manner *How*. For, though he is certain that three Persons cannot be one Person in the same Sense of the Word, yet he may be sure that their being *one* is true in some Sense or other. But as that Sense was not revealed, this Part, which is the *Mystery*, and which he therefore does not comprehend, is no Object of his Faith. And, although he and his Friend may believe their own Conjectures about the Explanation of it; yet surely these human Conjectures, or Decisions, ought not to be imposed, either upon themselves, or others, as Articles of Faith.

Thus far I have instanced in a Revelation, where the Terms of it are intelligible, though the Manner *how* is not; But if we come to consider our Belief in
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any Proposition which we do not comprehend, because the Terms of it are unintelligible ; then the Argument will appear so much the stronger.

Let us therefore suppose that an Angel should reveal unto any Man, that there was such a Thing in Heaven as an *Abdolubeden* ; and that there was no Doubt to be made of the divine Mission of the Angel, or of his having spoken these Words. And then the Question will be, what is this Man to believe, and how far are these Words the Object of his Faith ? To which the Answer is, just so far as his Reason can comprehend them, and no further. For, as here is nothing revealed that is contradictory to his Reason, but only something, the Meaning whereof he cannot comprehend ; all that can possibly be required of him to believe is, that the Angel spoke these Words, and that there is such a Thing in Heaven as an *Abdolubeden*. But what that *Abdolubeden* is, whether it is one Substance or two ; whether it is a material or spiritual Existence, he is neither obliged to believe, nor indeed ought he to determine any thing about it. This Part which was not revealed, continueth to be a *Mystery*, and is therefore no Object of his Faith, and must continue such until it pleaseth God to make some further Revelation about it. He may very readily believe the Angel and the Revelation, that is, he may believe, that what the Angel said was true ; but what the Word *Abdolubeden* means, which is the *Mystery*, as that was not revealed, he is not obliged to believe any thing about it. And if any uninspired Person should presume to explain it to him, he is surely at Liberty to reject all such Explanations ; unless such Person can prove himself to be infallible.

However, as this is the great Subterfuge of the Defenders of the *Athanasian* Doctrine concerning the Trinity, I must beg your Lordship's Patience till, for your Satisfaction and my own, I endeavour to put this Question in another Light. And let us suppose
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that an Angel from Heaven should say these Words to an illiterate Man, γινώσι θεῶν, this would be a *Mystery* to him; though there would be no *Mystery* in these Words to any one who understood *Greek*. He might believe that what the Angel said was true; but the Meaning of these Words would continue to be a *Mystery* to him, till they were explained, or revealed unto him, and then they would be no longer a *Mystery*. In like Manner, every Proposition, the Terms of which we do not understand, contains what is a *Mystery* to those who do not understand them; and it is impossible for such Persons reasonably to form any Notion, or Belief about them.

So that the common Expression of *believing a Mystery*, seems to be a very improper one. We may believe that there are Mysteries in Religion, or that certain Words contain a *Mystery*; but our Belief cannot reach the *Mystery* any more than our Knowledge can. Let us but change one Word for another, as we do Letters of the same Value in *Algebra*, and this Problem will, only by stating it properly, work out its own Solution. Thus, for Example, if we insert the Word *Secret*, instead of *Mystery*, we shall readily see the Impropriety of Speech in saying, that *we believe a Secret*. For while a Thing continues to be an absolute Secret, it is impossible for any one to believe any thing about it. We may indeed believe that there is a Secret; but we cannot properly be said to believe the Secret. Guesses and Conjectures may be formed, just so far as People imagine they know something about it; but, as far as it continueth a Secret, Belief can not.

Behold, saith St. Paul, *I shew you a Mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed* [2]. Which, as soon as it was told, was no longer a *Mystery*, and therefore this Proposition that *we shall all be changed*, is a proper Subject for Belief. But how

this Change is to be effected, still continueth a *Mystery*; and is therefore no Object of our Belief. The *Omnipresence* of God is an Object of Faith, or Belief, because we are informed of the Matter of Fact both by Reason and Revelation; but the Manner *how*, which is the *Mystery*, is no Object of our Belief. We are likewise informed of the Incarnation of the Son of God, which we may believe, because we can comprehend the Matter of Fact; that *Jesus* was born of the Virgin *Mary*; but how this divine Spirit was conveyed into the Womb of the Virgin, which is the *Mystery*, is by no Means required of us to believe; nor, until it is revealed, can it be an Object of Faith: And then it would be no longer a *Mystery*. So that in Truth, my Lord, it is not the Mysteries of Revelation, but the pretended Explanation of those Mysteries, that hath given so much Offence to Infidels.

However, my Lord, the Clergy are not the only Persons to be blamed; but the unbelieving Laity have also a Title to their Share of Rebuke. For, although those Persons who gave the Offence, are the greater Objects of Blame; yet, as far as these Gentlemen have taken an unreasonable Offence at Revelation, they also are so far in the Wrong. Now that, wherein these Gentlemen seem to be faulty, is, in not making an impartial Enquiry into Revelation itself. They seem to have been bred up from their Infancy, with the Opinion of certain Tenets being the Tenets of Christianity; which Tenets, although they are only the Doctrines of Men, superadded to Christianity, and falsely fathered upon it; nevertheless it is those Tenets of human Invention that have chiefly given these Gentlemen such a Disrelish to Revelation. And not having Strength of Mind and Resolution enough to examine and analyse the Whole, and to make such an Enquiry as would be sufficient to distinguish between Revelation, and the additional Incumbrance of human Determinations; they, like
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Jack in the *Tale of a Tub*, being offended at the Ridiculoufness of the Ornaments, have torn away the Coat along with the Fopperies.

I have, in the preceding Part of these Letters, endeavoured to remove all the Objections which were made by the great Genius of Lord *Bolingbroke* against the Scriptures of the *Old and New Testament*, in his *Letters on the Study and Use of History*; which, with Regard to the Theology, contains an Abstract of all the forcible Objections that are dilated in those voluminous Works of his, which have been published since his Death. And indeed, what hath appeared of late does not, in my humble Opinion, shew his Lordship's Character to any Advantage, either as a Gentleman, a Writer, or a Man. For I do not think that it is acting like a Gentleman to call his Opponents such low and scurrilous Names, as *Orthodox Bullies, presumptuous Dogmatists, and audacious Sophists*. And, as to his Character as a Writer, tho' his Style is undoubtedly masterly in the general, yet he is too fond of technical Terms, and betrays too much of that supercilious and dogmatical Spirit with which he charges his Antagonists; and although he is in the general sceptical, yet, when he asserts any thing, he does it with such an Air of Infallibility, as approaches to Arrogance. And, as a Man, I think him greatly to blame, since, instead of settling any religious Principles as a proper Basis for Society, his Endeavours seem directed to overturn all *Society*, and to unsettle all Religion, as well natural as revealed; to ridicule all Learning, but his own, and to decry all the Men of Learning that ever appeared in the World, but himself.

I have likewise since endeavoured to vindicate the *Mosaical* Account of the Creation and Deluge; and as the History of the Fall and Redemption of Mankind, as hitherto explained, hath given great Offence

to some Persons, who are Opposers of Revelation, as being inconsistent with Nature and Reason; I shall now proceed to vindicate the Account, which is given in the Scriptures, of *the Fall* and *the Redemption* of Mankind, and to shew that it is reconcileable to the Nature and Reason of Things.

And this I shall do, by shewing both from Reason of the Scriptures, that there are intermediate Beings between God and Man, by whose Interposition and Agency it hath pleased the Supreme God to govern this sublunary World. And for Want of which Consideration it is, that the Opposers of these Doctrines seem to me principally to have failed in their Conclusions concerning this Article of Revelation. For, saith Lord *Bolingbroke*, “That there is
“a God we can demonstrate; and although we
“know Nothing of his Manner of Being, yet we
“acknowledge him to be immaterial, because a
“Thousand Absurdities, and such as imply the
“strongest Contradiction, result from the Supposi-
“tion that the Supreme Being is a System of Mat-
“ter. But of any other Spirits we have, nor can
“have, no Knowledge [3].” And Mr. *Hobbs*, in his *Leviathan*, asserts, that the Notion of a *Spirit* implies a Contradiction. The further Consideration of which, I shall reserve for the Subject of our next Correspondence, as I fear I have at present sufficiently tired your Lordship with the Length of this Epistle.

Who am, &c.

[3] Boling. Let. to Alex. Pope, Esq.

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L E T T E R II.

MY LORD,

I AM much obliged to you for the Honour of your Letter, and in particular for the great Concern you are pleased to express for my Safety and Welfare. In Answer therefore to your Lordship's *Quære*, Whether I am not afraid of being branded with the odious Name of Heretick, for talking so freely about Mysteries, and the *Athanasian* Doctrine of the Trinity? I will truly and honestly reply, that I am not. It is a Term of Reproach, which designing Men, who have no other Merit, but their reputed Orthodoxy, are fond of giving to those, whom they would have excluded out of the Church; because thereby there would be more Room made for themselves, and others as ignorant as them. There are also many intemperate Zealots, who, without such interested Designs, bestow that infamous Name with great Freedom on those, who differ in the least from that System of Religion, which they, whether with or without Reason, have adopted. But, to a rational Inquirer after Truth, who is not self-condemned, it is *Vox & præterea Nihil*.

I do not say this, as being ignorant of the Force of that homely Proverb, which saith, *He that followeth Truth too closely, may happen to get a Kick in the Chops*. Nor am I ignorant of the Fate of *Socrates*, who was put to Death by the Priests of those Days, for speaking Sense in Matters of Religion. Nor am I a Stranger to what befel *Aristotle*, who would have undergone the same Fate with *Socrates*, if he had not fled his Country. Nor do I forget the unfortunate

fortunate Case of the learned *Galilæo*, who was condemned to Death by the Inquisition at *Rome*, not much above one Century ago, for asserting that the Sun stands still in the Center of this Planetary System, and that the periodical Revolutions of our Years and Days are owing to the Motions of the Earth round its own Center, and round the Sun. Which Doctrine he was forced to recant, in order to save his Life, and was obliged publicly to declare this Doctrine of his, to be an heretical, and damnable Opinion, directly repugnant to the sacred Writings.

And here, my Lord, give me Leave to lament the unhappy Circumstance in which this great, and learned Man was involved; let me shed one pitying Tear to the Frailty of human Nature, and as a Tribute paid to the Memorial of this great Man's Fall. And let me reap this Benefit from it, with Regard to myself, that it may remind me to pray to God in the Words dictated by our Saviour, that he will *not lead us into Temptation, but*, if he does, that he will, at the same Time, *deliver us from Evil*. As no Man can be sure, when the Day of Trial cometh, how he may be able to abide it.

Solomon, indeed, recommends it to us, to *buy the Truth, and sell it not*, which however no Man can be able to do, who is not above the Lures, that either Ambition or Interest can fling in his Way; as well as above the Dread of the Efforts of malicious Bigotry. For, though it must be acknowledged, that the Reformation of the Protestant Churches from Popery, was founded on the Principle of a free Use of Reason in religious Matters; and, that the Freedom of Inquiry into the Scriptures of the *Old and New Testament*, has been generally allowed to be the Right of every Subject in these Protestant Countries; yet it cannot be denied, but that this Freedom of Inquiry is at the same Time rendered ineffectual by those Canons of the Church, which denounce Ex-communication

communication to any one, who shall find Fault with, or attempt to make any further Reformation in those Articles, that were established even so long ago as the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*. So that although *the Right* of a Freedom of Inquiry is generally acknowledged, yet there are such Restraints laid upon the Exercise of this Right, as render it at the same Time unsafe for any one to make Use of it. And, although the Use of Fire and Fagot for the Conviction of Hereticks is publicly disclaimed, yet well I know, that even at present, in the Protestant Countries of *England* and *Ireland*, there are some Bishops, who [1] ——— *desunt nonnulla* ———

But, as I likewise know, that our Saviour hath left it as a Legacy to the Preachers of his Gospel, who will be zealous for the Truth, that they shall undergo Persecution as well as he [2]; and as no Truth can be of more Consequence than the true Knowledge of God, I choose to pursue my Inquiries after this Truth.

And this I shall endeavour to do in such a Manner, as cannot well give Offence to *the Powers that be*; there being a wide Difference between Advice and Abuse; or between an Attempt to amend, and to overturn, an Establishment. But if an unreasonable Degree of Offence should be taken, I shall nevertheless proceed in this Inquiry, without troubling my Head at present much about the Consequence.

Your Lordship is further pleased to ask, what good End can be answered by Enquires of this Nature? Do not they manifestly tend to unsettle the Minds of

[1] Whoever would supply the Deficiency of this Paragraph, may read a Pamphlet entitled, *The Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Scriptures*, &c. supposed to have been written by the late Bishop *Hare*.

[2] John xv. 18. xvi. 2, 3. Matt. x. 16, &c.

Men? And will not many, when once they allow themselves Liberty to entertain a Doubt of those Matters, which they have long been accustomed to regard as revealed Truths, be too ready to give up the Whole of Religion? Your Lordship, I know, will excuse me for the Freedom I take, when I choose to answer these Questions by referring you to an ironical Passage in *Bolingbroke's* Letter to Mr. *Pope*, where he saith, " Truth and Falshood, Knowledge and Ignorance, Revelations of the Creator, Inventions of the Creature, Dictates of Reason, Sallies of Enthusiasm, have been blended so long together, that it may be thought dangerous to separate them; lest, by attacking some Part of these Systems, we should shake the Whole. It may be thought that Error itself deserves to be respected on this Account, and that Men who are deluded for their Good, should be deluded on." Your Lordship cannot but see through this Irony, and that it contains a severe Satyr upon those, who are for supporting any Error in Religion for Fear of unsettling the whole Establishment. Since, as Lord *Bacon* expresseth it in a more serious and simple Manner, " A Religion, which is jealous of the Variety of Learning, Discourse, Opinion, and Sects, as misdoubting that it would shake the Foundations; or, that cherisheth Devotion upon Simplicity and Ignorance, is adverse to Knowledge [1].

Oh sacred Truth! from whom our holy *Comforter* has borrowed his darling Appellation of *the Spirit of Truth* [2], can thy divine Influence be of Prejudice to Mankind? Let me indulge the Thought. O thou adorable Ray of the Divinity! Thou, who art the Object of all my Studies; the Hope of all my Wishes; the End of all my Pursuits; my Consolation in this Life; and who will be my Happiness in the next;

[1] *Bac.* of the Interpretation of Nature, Chap. *xxiii.*

[2] *John* *xiv.* 17. *xv.* 26. *xvi.* 13. 1 *John* *iv.* 6.

if I once arrive at the Knowledge of thee, shall I hide thee under a *Buskel*, and not set thee on a *Candlestick* [3]? No! what I have learned in my *Closet*, *that will I proclaim on the House Top*. For it is said unto me, *Be not afraid of them that kill the Body, and after that have no more that they can do; but fear him, who after he hath killed, hath Power to cast into Hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him* [4].

But, as your Lordship still persists and asks, Whether these Disputes will not unsettle Men's Minds, and shake their Belief in Christianity? Give me Leave to say, that they will on the contrary, rather establish the thinking Part of Mankind in the true Principles, on which the Christian Religion is founded. For, as to the moral Part thereof, these Disputes do no Way affect that; since they who acknowledge that *all Power was given unto the Son*, and that *all Judgment was committed unto him by the Father*, think themselves equally obliged, both out of Fear and out of Gratitude, to obey his Precepts, and submit to his Commands, as if they were promulgated by the Father himself: And think themselves also obliged to *honour the Son even as they honour the Father*: Because, as our Saviour himself observeth, *He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which sent him* [5]. And as to the speculative Parts of it, true Christianity stands upon too sure a Foundation to require the Aid of either pious Frauds, or of Ignorance to support it. It will stand the Test of the nicest, and most critical Examination, and, like Gold from the Fire, will come out with a new Lustre. And whoever by his Freedom of Enquiry removes any one Objection to Revelation, or to any one Branch of Religion, does, in my humble Opinion, more Service to Mankind, than all the Disputes in the World can do Hurt; as it is impossible for any Religion ever to have its due Weight with rational

[3] Mat. v. 15.
18. John v. 22.

[4] Luke xii. 3, 4, 5.

[5] Mat. xxviii.

Creatures, but that which is founded on rational Principles. And surely there cannot be a stronger Sign of the Falshood of any Doctrine, than when its Advocates are for making a MYSTERY of it, exclaim against the Use of Reason in religious Affairs, and are unwilling to have their Opinions tried by that Touchstone.

For, set aside Reason, and how shall we convert any Heathen to Christianity? Set aside Reason, and has not the Mahometan as much Right to blame the Christian for not believing in *Mahomet*, as the Christian has to blame the Mahometan for not believing in *Christ*? Set aside Reason, and it must be equal whether you are a *Bramine*, or a Christian Divine. Or rather the Heathen Priest must be preferable to the Christian, since, if we set aside Reason, the more absurd our Belief is, the more meritorious it ought to be.

It is an old saying, *Qui respiciunt ad pauca, facile pronunciant; They, who know little, determine easily.* And daily Experience may convince us, that there is not a more positive Thing in the World than Ignorance. Because, to a Mind void of Knowledge, a strong Prejudice, with little or no Evidence, will outweigh all the Evidence in the World on the other Side of the Question. *A wise Man, says SOLOMON, feareth and departeth from Evil; but a Fool rageth, and is confident.*

Whether I am so happy as to succeed in my present Attempt, to reconcile Reason and revealed Religion together, and to remove the Objections, which are raised against the *Athanasian* Doctrine of the Trinity, both by Jews, Deists, and Mahometans, as well as by several pious Christians, I here submit to your Judgment. Your Lordship, I know, will do me the Justice to believe, that I have not hitherto asserted, nor will assert, any thing to be true, but what appears to myself to be so. And as to those Persons,

who would rather continue in Ignorance, than be at the Trouble of inquiring; or who prefer the Preservation of particular Establishments, or the Support of particular Systems, to the Love of Truth, I am very little solicitous what such Persons think of me, while I have the Approbation of my own Conscience. For certain it is, that Almighty God hath furnished Men with the Talents of thinking as well as of acting, that they should not lay them up in a Napkin; but that they should employ them both to the Glory of God, and the Good of Mankind, that *every one should please his Neighbour for his Good to his Edification.*

Tacitus somewhere says, *Rara Temporum Felicitas, in quibus sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet.* Which Sentence I have heard criticised, as if that Expression of *sentire quæ velis*, was needless, and superfluous; since the utmost Tyranny cannot hinder a Freedom of Thought. Whereas, my Lord, I cannot help thinking this Piece of Criticism rather too delicate, and refined. Because, although Tyranny cannot prevent a Freedom of Thought by any immediate Operation, yet it may produce the same Effect by slow Degrees. For, if a Stop can be put to the Freedom of Speech, and the Freedom of the Press, such a Restraint will end in the Loss of the Freedom of Thought.

Thinking is to the Mind, what Action is to the Body; and if it be continued with any Degree of Application, it is attended with Labour and Pain. And therefore it requires in general, that some Encouragement, either profitable, or honourable, should be given to Men of Letters, in Order to engage them in keeping up their Attention to such a Pitch, as is necessary for the Improvement of the Mind. But if, instead of Encouragement, Men of Letters meet with Discouragement, the Consequence may be easily foreseen. And how can this be more effectually done than by not only not rewarding them, but even by discouraging

discouraging all studious Persons from communicating their Thoughts one to another? Since what an antient Poet observes is undoubtedly true in the general, that *Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter*; as few People would be very solicitous after the Acquisition of Knowledge, if they were neither allowed to exercise it, nor impart it. Some few contemplative Persons might, perhaps, nevertheless indulge themselves in a Freedom and Cultivation of Thought; but these indeed would be very few; and while they were restrained from communicating their Thoughts to others, Idleness and Ignorance would ride triumphant through the World. Tyranny and Superstition would daily gain Ground, until *passive Obedience*, and *implicit Faith*, became the ruling Doctrines both in Church and State; two Sister Principles, which Experience sheweth in all the tyrannical Governments over the Face of the Earth, ever will, and must, go Hand and Hand together, in Order equally to enslave those, who are under their baneful Influence, both in Body and Mind.

Hence it is, that FALSHOOD generally struts about the Streets in majestic State, surrounded with Guards, and attended with Lictors, in Order to keep People at a Distance; and to prevent their taking too near a View. Her Outside is fair and specious, *arrayed*, as St. John describes her, *in purple, and scarlet Colour, and decked with Gold, and precious Stones, and Pearls*; and *upon her Forehead is a Name written MYSTERY* [6]. Whereas TRUTH, on the other Hand, dwells in a homely, and retired Cottage; the Road to which is intricate and narrow, though it widens as you proceed, and over her Gate is written, *Prove all Things*.

For, in Reality, *Mystery* is no more than the dernier Resort under which false Systems of Theology have taken Refuge, in Order to impose on the World; as *occult Qualities* were the dernier Resort under which

[6] Rev. xvii. 5.

false Systems of Philosophy took Shelter for many Generations. The latter of which we have tolerably well got rid of; whereas the other still continues written on the Forehead of *Antichrist*.

As therefore I think it my Duty to find out TRUTH, sure I am that GOD would never give Mankind, either one false Guide, or two contradictory ones; and therefore I also conclude, that Reason and Revelation, which are our two Guides, both springing from the same divine Fountain, and both coming from GOD, neither will nor can disagree; but will both lead us to Truth at the last. Whenever therefore they seem to disagree, I try their several Dictates by the Touchstone of their Conducing to the Glory of GOD and the Good of Mankind, and adhere to that, which, in my Opinion, coincides best with these infallible Directors.

For this Reason I indulge myself freely in Thinking, and am not afraid of any Thought, or Doubt, which may arise in my Mind under the Inspection, and Care, of two such Monitors. If I err under these Circumstances, surely it must be in such Manner, as will not affect my future Happiness; and as for this World, the Time I have to spend in it is so short, as scarcely deserves the least Regard.

And as to the Publication of these Thoughts to other People, when they have once occurred to myself, my only Reason is, because I think it my Duty to bear Witness unto the Truth. I know too much of the World to expect to make many Profelytes. I do not see any Signs in this Age to denote it to be an Age of Reformation, nor do I think it is the Will of GOD that it should; because I rather think I see some manifest Proofs to the contrary; the Time, however, will come, when, as *St. Paul* expresseth it, all Men shall know that the Head of every Man is *Christ*; and as the Head of the Woman is the Man, so the Head of
Christ

Christ is God [7]. The ample Illustration of which great Truth may possibly be reserved for that glorious Day, when, *the Fullness of the Gentiles being come*, the *Messiahship* of *Jesus* will be more evidently displayed at his second Coming; the Unity of the Godhead be established; and the great stumbling Block of Offence to the Conversion of the *Jews* being removed, *then shall all Israel be saved* [8]. But in the mean Time *there must needs be Heresies amongst us*, says the same Apostle, *that they which are approved may be made manifest*.

Let us then in God's Name proceed, and pursue our Enquiry; and let us not be afraid of entering into the Maze of DOUBT, through which every one must pass, who expects to be *approved*, and find out the Road which leads to TRUTH. The *Way which leadeth to Life* is declared to be *straight* and *narrow*, and is so intricate as to need the Clues both of Reason and Revelation to conduct us through it. Was there no Difficulty in the Pursuit, there would be no Virtue in the Conquest; the Merit of which will rise in Proportion to the Circumspection and Care we use in our Conduct. But, as I have taken up too much of your Lordship's Time at present, I shall reserve what I have to say on the Subject of Spirits, for another Occasion, that I may have the more frequent Opportunities of assuring your Lordship how much I am

Your, &c.

[7] 1 Cor. xi. 3.

[8] Rom. xi. 25, 26.

LETTER III.

My LORD,

I CONCLUDED my former Letter with proposing to shew from Reason and the Scriptures, that there are intermediate Beings between God and Mankind,

called Angels or Spirits, by whose Interposition, and Agency, it hath pleased the supreme God to govern this sublunary World. And, in Order thereto, it may be proper to observe, that this is not only the Doctrine of Revelation, but was also the Doctrine of the Heathen World in its most early Ages; and that *Hesiod* and *Plato*, whose Authority, as being Heathens, will, I suppose, be hardly contested in Favour of natural Religion, both considered this World as being governed by the Interposition of invisible Spirits, or Angels; who are represented as intermediate Beings between God and Man, and who, taking Cognizance of the Actions of Men, reported them to *Jupiter*, whom they supposed to be the supreme God. And therefore *Hesiod* gives this Advice to human Governors,

Exactly mark, ye Rulers of Mankind,
 The Ways of Truth, nor be to Justice blind.
 Consider; all ye do, and all ye say,
 The holy Dæmons to their God convey:
 Aerial Spirits by great *Jove* design'd
 To be on Earth the Guardians of Mankind.
 Invisible to mortal Eyes they go,
 And mark our Actions, good, or bad, below.
 Th' immortal Spies with watchful Care preside,
 And thrice ten Thousand round their Chariot glide.
COOKE'S *Hesiod*.

And *Plato* saith, that “*Saturn* well knowing there
 “ was no Man could have absolute Empire over
 “ others without abandoning himself to all Kinds of
 “ Violence and Injustice, subjected the Nations, not
 “ to Men, but to more noble and excellent Beings,
 “ as their Conductors and Governors; namely, to
 “ Dæmons, or intelligent Spirits, who are of a more
 “ divine and better Nature than Men; after the same
 “ Manner as we deal with our Cattle. For, as we do
 “ not set a Bull over a whole Herd of his own Kind, nor
“ a Goat

“ a Goat to govern a Flock of Goats, but put both
 “ under the Conduct of a Man; so God, who
 “ loveth Mankind, placed them at first under the
 “ Conduct of Angels [9].”

And indeed if we do but consult the Dictates of Reason alone, we shall find sufficient Cause to believe, that this whole Universe is replete with Spirits, and is constituted and governed after this very Manner as described by *Plato*. For, if we do but consider that in this sublunary Globe of Earth, the visible Dominion of which is given into the Hand of Man, there is such a gradual Descent of Perfection in the rational animal, and vegetable Series of Beings, that the exact Limits of each are hardly to be assigned; is there not Reason to believe, that this Analogy is also preserved in the upper Part of the Creation, as well as the lower? And that Mankind is far from being the highest and most compleat Production of God's creative Power? But that the immense Distance which there is between the infinite Perfection of God, and the Insufficiency of Man, is filled up with Existences of various Kinds; and abounds with Spirits endowed with different Qualifications and Powers, rising upwards from Rationality to the highest Degree of Perfection, that it is possible for any created Being to possess.

But, as Lord *Bolingbroke* in his first Essay of the third Volume of his posthumous Works, has endeavoured to prove, that there is no such Thing as *Spirit*; this Difficulty, I apprehend, must first be removed before we proceed any further. For he says,
 “ That the Faculty of Thinking, in all the Modes of
 “ Thought, may have been superadded by Omnipotence to certain Systems of Matter.” And takes a great deal of Pains to prove that there is no such Substance in Nature as Spirit separate from Matter; but that Mind, or Spirit, is a Faculty, or Property,

[9] *Plato de Leg. L. iv. Essay on Spirit, Sect. 35.*

superadded to Matter. And in Order to prove this, he says further, that "God alone, the Author of all Beings, knows how many different Kinds of Substances, how many various Sorts of Beings his omnipotent Will has made to exist. But this I say, that we have not the same Proof of the Existence of unextended and spiritual, as we have of extended and solid Substance. We have not the same Proof, because we have not the same Knowledge on which to ground any." And again he says, "We have more and clearer primary Ideas belonging to Body, than we have to immaterial Spirits."

And what then? Though I have not as clear and full Proof that there is such a Place as *Jerusalem*, which I have not seen, as I have that there is such a Place as *London*, which I have seen, is that a Reason that there is no such Place as *Jerusalem*?

But he proceeds, and says, "As long as Matter is senseless and inert, it is not a thinking Substance, nor ought to be so called. But when in any System of it, the essential Properties of Extension, Solidity, &c. are maintained, that System is material still, though it become a *sensitive Plant*, a *reasoning Elephant*, or a *refining Metaphysician*. It would be Nonsense to assert, what no Man does assert, that the Idea of Incogitativity can be the Idea of Thinking; but it is Nonsense, and something worse than Nonsense, to assert, what you assert, that God cannot give the Faculty of Thinking, a Faculty in the Principles entirely unknown to us, to Systems of Matter, whose essential Properties are Solidity, Extension, &c. and not Incogitativity." The Force of which Argument lies here, that although God cannot communicate contradictory Qualities to one and the same Subject at one and the same Time, such a Senselessness and Thinking, Inertness and Activity; yet as there is no Contradiction between Solidity, Extension, &c. and Thinking,

ing, therefore these may subsist together in one and the same Subject.

Lord *Bolingbroke* is too artful a Reasoner not to lay hold of Mr. *Locke's* Opinion in his own Favour, who says, that “ he sees no Contradiction in it, that “ the first eternal thinking Being should, if he “ pleased, give to certain Systems of created senseless “ Matter, put together, as he thinks fit, some Degrees of Sense, Perception, and Thought.”

To which I shall add what Mr. *Hume*, one of the Senators of the College of Justice in *Scotland*, says upon the same Subject, because I propose answering them all together. For, in a Treatise entitled, *Essays and Observations, physical and literary, read before a Society in Edinburgh, &c.* Mr. *Hume* endeavours to prove, that Matter may be, and is endowed with an active Quality. He allows, indeed, that Matter, so far as we can discover, is certainly not endowed with Thought, or voluntary Motion; and yet, says he, that it is endued with a Power of Motion in certain Circumstances, appears to me an extreme clear Point. To prove which, the Argument he makes Use of is to this Purpose, *viz.* “ Dropping a Stone from a high “ Tower, it falls to the Ground *without any external “ Impulse, so far as we can discover.* Here then is an “ Effect produced, which every one who has not “ studied Philosophy will attribute to a Power in “ the Stone itself. One would not hesitate to draw “ this Conclusion, should the Stone move upwards; “ and yet, setting aside Habit and Custom, it will be “ evident, that a Stone can as little move downwards “ as upwards, without a *Vis Motrix.* And that this “ is as just as well as a natural Way of Thinking, will “ appear by Analogy. When a Man is in Motion, “ we readily ascribe the Effect produced to a Power “ which he possesses to move his Limbs. Why then “ do the Philosophers deny to the Stone, in the Act

“ of Falling, the Power of Beginning Motion, a
 “ Power which they so readily ascribe to the
 “ Man ?”

Now, saving and reserving to ourselves all Right to just Exceptions against the unphilosophical Manner in which this Argument is stated ; for Mr. *Hume* might as well have instanced in the Self-motion of a Boat, that is slipped from its Cable, and is carried away by the Current of a River, as in the Self-motion of a Stone that is dropped from a Tower ; or might have instanced in the Self-motion of Quick-silver in a Barometer, which moveth upwards and downwards *without any external Impulse, so far as we can discover* ; I will, to avoid all unnecessary Controversies, for the present, allow *the Analogy* ; and suppose that the Power by which a Man moved his Limbs, or excited the Action of Thought in his Mind, was not only analogous to, but was exactly the same with that by which a Stone, when let fall, dropped to the Ground ; and will endeavour to shew that the *Vis Motrix*, by which this Effect is produced, cannot be a Property inherent in Matter. And, what is more, that God cannot give such a Power to Matter, without altering the Nature of Things as now constituted ; as this would be adding to Matter a new Quality *contradictory* to the present primary acknowledged Properties of Matter, which, according to Lord *Bolingbroke*, is what even Almighty God cannot do.

And, in order to avoid all unnecessary Cavils, let us first state the Question in Dispute ; which is not, Whether God can unite two different Substances, one of which is endued with the Properties attributed to Matter, and the other with the Properties attributed to Spirit, so as that they may mutually affect each other, and become one Materio-Spiritual System : For this is a Matter of Fact agreed upon on all Sides. But the Question is, whether God can unite to Mat-
 ter

ter those Properties of Activity and Thought, which are attributed to Spirit; so as that they may become the Properties of Matter, without the Assistance of any spiritual Substance to support them? Which is what Mr. *Locke*, Lord *Bolingbroke*, and Mr. *Hume*, seem to assert, and the Advocates for Spirit to deny.

Let us not, my Lord, be afraid of great Names; and in the Investigation of Truth, *let not the Reverence of any Man cause us to fall*; but, in order to analyse this Question, let us suppose a Portion, or Particle, of Matter created in any Part of unoccupied Space, and at such a Distance from any other material Substance, as to be quite free from any external Influence, and let us suppose this Particle of Matter furnished with all the known Properties of Matter, so that it might really and truly be acknowledged as a compleat Portion, or Particle of Matter, as far as human Understanding can reach. And then let us consider what would be the Consequence. Would not the Event be, according to all the known Properties of Matter, that this solid, extended, Particle, would eternally rest [2] in that one Spot of Space, endued with its own unactive Properties of Solidity, Extension, &c. without moving to the Right, or Left; up or down? And does it not from hence appear, that, according to all the known Properties of Matter, *Rest* or *Inactivity* is one of the primary, and essential Ideas we have of it? And does not Lord *Bolingbroke* acknowledge, that God cannot endue one and the same Subject with two such contradictory Qualities, as *Rest* and *Motion*, *Inertness* and *Activity*?

And that this Particle of Matter would eternally rest in that one Spot is plain from hence; because, by the Supposition, it has no particular Tendency to any one Part of Space more than to another, and

[2] See Newtoni Princ. Lex 1.

therefore,

therefore, for Want of a particular Direction, could not move at all. And the Effect would be the same, even though we supposed the Power of Attraction was also super-added as a Property to this material Particle, for not having any thing within the Sphere of its Activity to attract, it would still rest where it was, and only spend its attractive Power to no Purpose.

But let us proceed again, and suppose, or fix in our Mind's Eye, the Image of this first created Particle of Matter with all the essential Properties of Matter, but without Attraction; and let us suppose another Particle of Matter lying at a small Distance from it, and a second, and a third, and a fourth, &c. at equal, or unequal Distances from each other; would they not all lie for ever, like so many detached incoherent Particles of Sand, in the same original Situation, that they were first placed in by the Hand of their Creator? And, if any external, moving Agent was to interfere, might he not remove any, or all of them, where he pleased, and with the least possible Degree of Force? Because Matter as Matter has no Weight.

The Truth of which Proposition, that Matter as Matter has no Weight, appears from hence; because *Weight* is nothing else but the Tendency of one Particle of Matter towards another; not only downwards, as Mr. *Hume* imagines, but either upwards or downwards; for two Stones dropped from two high Towers at the two most distant Parts of this terraqueous Globe, would both tend towards the Center, and to an Eye placed at the proper Distance from the Surface of the Earth, would both be seen to move, one upwards and the other downwards at the same Time. But as these Particles of Matter were supposed not to have any Tendency towards one Part of Space more than another, therefore they could have no Weight. And under these Circumstances,
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the Effect would be the same, whether these Particles, or Portion of Matter, be supposed little, or large; a Mountain without Weight being as easily moved as a Mole-hill; for that Bulk, or Extension, in *Vacuo*, is no Impediment to Motion, is manifest from the equal Descent of unequal Bodies in an exhausted Receiver.

But now let us suppose each of these Particles endued with a Power of Attraction; then the Consequence would be, supposing them placed within the Reach of that Power, that they would mutually move towards each other with a Velocity inversely proportioned to the Squares of their Distances; and would then form one compact Body. And, if we suppose one of these Atoms, or Particles of Matter, endued with a Power of Attraction, which was stronger than that which was communicated to the rest, the Consequence would be, that they would all form themselves into a Globe; because they would all endeavour to get as near that Atom as possible, and being equally attracted by it on all Sides, would gather round it as round a Center, and form a little World of their own. And if any external powerful Agent attempted to disengage any of them, he must make Use of Force superior to that by which they were attracted; which Force of Attraction, or Tendency towards the Center, would, in the Language of the Vulgar, be called their *Weight*.

The Continuance of which Weight, or attractive Force, while these Particles are detained at a Distance from each other, manifestly proves, that even this simple Power of Attraction, by which these Particles are drawn together, could not be a Property super-added to Matter, but must be a Property inherent in some Substance, that is not material, which, being intimately united with the Particles of Matter, compose a Materio-Spiritual System. Because, Power
of

of any Kind is only a Property, or Accident, that cannot subsist of itself, but must be inherent in some powerful Agent, which is the *Substance*, Support, or *Substratum* of it. And therefore, as this Power of Attraction manifestly acts at a Distance from, and beyond the Surface of all material Particles, for this very Reason it cannot be the Property of any material Substance. Because, Nothing can act where it is not. It is not the Property that acts, but the Agent endued with that Property. And therefore no Property inherent in, or belonging to any Substance whatsoever, whether material or spiritual, can exert its Powers beyond the Limits or Extension of the Substance itself.

When we speak, not in the Language of Philosophers, but of the Vulgar, we say that we see, and hear, &c. Things at a Distance; but they who are versed in philosophical Enquiries know that we see nothing, but the Image, that is painted on the *Retina* of our own Eye by the Rays of Light, which immediately affect our visionary Nerves; in like Manner we hear nothing, but the Stroke which the undulating Particles of Air make upon the Drum of the Ear, as they are moved by the sonorous Body. And therefore, though the visible, or sonorous Object, was never so near, remove but the Light and the Air, and we should not be able either to hear or see. When we smell any perfumed Body, or feel the Heat of Fire at a Distance from us, we smell only those Particles of the Perfume, that are emitted from it, and which immediately affect our olfactory Nerves; and feel only those Particles of Fire that are emitted from the ignited Body, and strike the Nerves of our Skin with an agreeable, or disagreeable Sensation. Whence it appears, that if the Power of Attraction could be superadded to Matter, it would extend its Influence no further than the material Body could expand itself, within the Limits of
which

which the attractive Power would be confined, and could not act at the most minute Distance beyond it.

And that this Power of Attraction cannot be a Property superadded to Matter, so as to be inherent in it, will still further appear by considering the Nature of Solidity or Impenetrability, which Lord *Bolingbroke* acknowledgeth to be one of the primary, and essential Attributes, or Properties of Matter. Which Property, while inherent in Matter, will eternally prevent any two material Objects from penetrating through each other. Now then, let us in this Light consider Mr. *Hume's* Experiment of a Stone dropped from an high Tower; and let us suppose the most solid Substance in Nature interposed between the Earth and the Stone, the Stone will nevertheless drop till it meets with that solid Substance, with the same Velocity, that is, will be attracted by the same Force towards the Center of the Earth, as if this solid Substance had not interposed. It is plain therefore, that the Substance in which this attractive Power is inherent, and which penetrates through the most solid Substance with the same Ease and Force as it does through a *Vacuum*, cannot be material; because, wherever the Property is, there must the Substance in which it is inherent be also; and from the very Definition of Impenetrability it appears, that Matter cannot penetrate through Matter, and therefore it will demonstrably follow, either that Impenetrability is no essential Property of Matter, or that the Subject, in which the attractive Power inheres, is not a material Substance: Because, these two contradictory Qualities of Penetrability and Impenetrability cannot be essentially inherent in the same Substance.

The same Thing might be proved from the Motion of the Planets, which Sir *Isaac Newton* has demonstrated to move in *Vacuo*, that is, without any Impediment from any material Fluid that surrounds them; and therefore, as the attractive Power of the Sun reaches at least as far as the most distant Planet,

the attracting Substance in which that Power inheres, must occupy and fill the whole Space of this solar System, and for that Reason cannot be material.

Now, as it is a Maxim in Logic, that *omne Majus continet in se Minus*; hence, I think, if it can be proved, that the simple Power of Attraction cannot be a Property superadded to the essential Properties, which Matter already possesses, then the same Argument will hold much more strongly against Thought, which is endued with a more complicated, and extensive Power of Activity than bare Attraction.

But, though Almighty God cannot superadd Thought or Activity to Matter as a Property; I do not see any Contradiction in supposing, that God may so unite the spiritual Substance, in which Thought or Activity subsists as a Property, with the material Substance in which Impenetrability, or Rest, or Inertness, are the primary and essential Qualities, as to form one Materio-spiritual System, which, according to the Quality and Proportion of each, that are communicated to it, may produce an attracting Earth, an elastick Ball, a *sensitive Plant*, a *reasoning Elephant*, *refining Metaphysician* [3], or an intuitive Angel.

We limited Creatures can mix and blend several different Substances together in such a Manner, as that the distinct Properties of each Species in the Mixture can hardly be distinguished the one from the other. We can mix Oil, and Water, and Earth, in such a Manner, as that the separate Properties of each shall scarce be distinguishable; which Composition shall likewise produce an Effect, that all of them separately applied would never be able to accomplish. But if we mix them, and mix them to all Eternity, yet the Properties of Oil will never become the Properties of Water, nor the Properties of Water become the Properties of Oil.

There is no Contradiction, nor Improbability in supposing that all created Beings are formed with

such a Composition of Matter and Spirit, as is suited and adapted to their several and respective Natures; and that as there is no Species of material Existence, that is not enlivened by having some Portion of the Activity of Spirit communicated to it, so there is no created Spirit so perfect, as not to be clogged with some Portion of the Inertness of Matter.

I will not say that *Solomon* had this Thought in his Head when he says, *So look upon all the Works of the Most High, and there are two and two one against another* [4]. And again, when he saith, *All Things are double one against another* [5]: Because he only mentions Life and Death, Good and Evil, Prosperity and Adversity. Whereas, if he had considered the natural, as well as the moral World, he might have there discovered Heat and Cold, Attraction and Repulsion, Activity and Rest, &c. which are so blended in the Composition of this World, and *are so set the one over against the other* [6], that, in the Words of Dr. King,

They thus by Discord without Strife

Compose one Harmony of Life.

King's Orph. & Euryd.

I am, my LORD,

Your, &c.

[4] Eccles. xxxv. 15. [5] Id. xlii. 24. [6] Id. vii. 14.

LETTER IV.

MY LORD,

IN my last Letter I endeavoured to prove, that there must be in Nature such a Thing as *Spirits*, or spiritual Substances, quite distinct from all material Substances; and among those Persons, who were

of a contrary Opinion, I mentioned Mr. *Locke* as one of the principal. And I did it, because he is appealed to by Lord *Bolingbroke*, who has quoted his Words. For, as Mr. *Locke's* Name must add great Weight to any Side, in Favour of whose Opinion his Sentiments are produced; I was unwilling to deprive the noble Viscount of the Credit of such an Advocate, till I had produced such Arguments as, in my Apprehension, ought to convince any unprejudiced Person, that Matter cannot think.

But now I look upon myself as obliged, in Justice to the Memory of that great Man, Mr. *Locke*, to shew, that his Opinion was on the other Side of the Question; and that he thought it *in the highest Degree probable, that the thinking Substance in us is immaterial*; but, that he saw *no contradiction* in the contrary Opinion, and only objects against its being *demonstrable*; and adds, that such a Demonstration *would be a great Advance of our Knowledge in Nature and Philosophy*.

His Words in his Letter to the Bishop of *Worcester* are these: “ And therefore, if your Lordship
 “ by a spiritual, means an immaterial, Substance, I
 “ grant I have not proved, nor, upon my Principles,
 “ can it be proved, that there is an immaterial
 “ Substance in us that thinks. Though I presume
 “ from what I have said, about the Supposition of
 “ Matter thinking, (which there demonstrates that
 “ God is immaterial) *will prove it in the highest Degree probable, that the thinking Substance in us is immaterial*. But your Lordship thinks not Probability enough, and by charging the Want of Demonstration on my Principles, that the thinking
 “ Thing in us is immaterial, your Lordship seems
 “ to conclude it demonstrable from Principles of
 “ Philosophy. That Demonstration I should with
 “ Joy receive from your Lordship or any one. For,
 “ though all the great Ends of Morality and Religion

“ gion are well enough secured without it, yet it
 “ would be a great Advance of our Knowledge in
 “ Nature, and Philosophy.”

Which Declaration, I own, encouraged me to proceed in the Attempt of proving, to a Demonstration, that Matter cannot think. For, though Mr. *Locke* thought that all the great Ends of Morality and Religion are well enough secured without such a Demonstration, yet I apprehend it to be otherwise; and that the Reason, why Mr. *Hobbs*, Lord *Bolingbroke*, and some others, who are in the same way of Thinking with them, are solicitous to prove that Matter may think, is, because this Doctrine, if thoroughly established, would remove the Terrors of a future State. For, if Thought be once acknowledged to be a Property of Matter, then the Body and Soul must both die together. And therefore, they also set themselves to oppose the Notion of the Existence of Spirits [1], not only on the same Account for which the *Saducees* formerly asserted that *there was neither Angel nor Spirit*; because then there would be *no Resurrection* [2]; but also, because it is the Doctrine of Revelation. For take away the Supposition of invisible intermediate Spirits acting between God and Man, and the whole History of the Bible falls to the Ground; as it is on the real Existence of such Spirits that the Truth depends of the History of the Fall of our first Parents, of the Conversations which *Abraham*, and *Lot*, and *Hagar*, and *Jacob*, and *Moses*, and the *Prophets*, and our *Saviour*, and his *Apostles* had with Angels. In short, that the Truth of the whole Bible, from the first Chapter in *Genesis* to the last Chapter in the *Revelations*, does depend.

And therefore, I think, we may now safely assert, in Opposition to the aforementioned Declaration of the noble Viscount's, viz. *of any other Spirits* (but

[1] See Part III. Letter I. p. 397. [2] Acts xxiii. 8.

GOD) *we have, nor can have, no Knowledge*, that both Reason and Revelation agree to furnish us with *some Knowledge* of invisible, ministring Spirits, which, though not as perfect perhaps as we might desire, is nevertheless adequate to the Purposes for which it was intended, and is suited to the Condition of human Nature in a State of Probation and Trial ; so as to enliven our Hopes, and give us earnest Expectations of our Existence in a future State, when these our earthly Tabernacles will be mouldered into Dust. And therefore our Saviour hath also assured us, that when this great Change shall be accomplished, *we shall be as the Angels which are in Heaven* [3]. Some of which Angels are also, through the whole Tenor of the sacred Writings, declared to be *ministring Spirits*, guarding, and taking Care of Mankind in their present State, and *sent forth*, in particular, *to minister unto those who shall be Heirs of Salvation* [4].

For which Reason these *ministring Spirits* are also, on Account of their great Power, Superiority, and Superintendency over us, called, in the Language of of the East, not only *Angels*, but *Gods*. For hence it was that *Satan*, when he tempted our first Parents to eat of the Tree of Knowledge, said unto them, *In the Day you eat thereof, then your Eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as Gods, knowing Good and Evil* [5]. Which *Jonathan*, in his *Chaldee Paraphrase* on this Text, renders thus: *And ye shall be as great Angels, knowing Good and Evil*. And *Fagus*, *Vatablus*, and *Drusius*, in their Annotations on this Text, declare, that the *Hebrews* in general, by the Word *Gods* in this Place, understood *Angels*. And accordingly in the 138th Psalm, when holy *David* says, as it is in the *Hebrew*, *I will praise thee with my whole Heart, before THE GODS will I sing Praise unto thee*; the *Septuagint* Version renders it, *before the*

[3] Mark xii. 25.

[4] Heb. i. 14.

[5] Gen. iii. 5. Heb. *Elohim*.

Angels I will sing Praise unto thee [6]. And, to justify this Method of Interpretation, it may be observed, that when the holy Psalmist is prophetically speaking of the coming of the Messiah, and saith, *Worship him, all ye Gods* [7], St. Paul positively explains this Text as being spoken to Angels; and renders it thus, *Let all the Angels of God worship him* [8].

By the Help therefore of this Key, we may proceed and make a further Enquiry into the Doctrine of Revelation, with Regard to the *Fall* and *Redemption* of Mankind. And in order thereto, it will be proper to take Notice, that the *Old Testament* beginneth with these Words: *In the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth.* Upon which a learned Writer [9] observes, that the Word God being in the Original expressed, “by the plural Word *Elohim*, “hath been generally thought to denote a Plurality “of Persons in the Godhead.” And, saith he, “it “is very observeable, that it is often used with a Verb “singular; and particularly in the History of the Cre- “ation, where we may well suppose the inspired “Writer would use all possible Exactness.”

I need not inform your Lordship, that this newly revived Observation is of very ancient Date, nor need I trouble you with the mention of some silly, if not blasphemous Derivations and Explanations, which have been given of late Years to this Word *Elohim*. It will be sufficient, I believe, at present, to acknowledge, that this Word *Elohim*, which we translate *God*, is in the plural Number, and also that the Verb *Bara*, *created*, to which it is joined, is in the singular; whence, to put this Argument in its strongest

[6] Psal. cxxxviii. 1. Heb. *Elohim*.

[7] Psal. xcvi. 7. Sept. Vers.

[8] Heb. i. 6.

[9] Dr. *Randolph*, Author of a Treatise entitled, A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity from the Exceptions of a late Pamphlet, entitled, An Essay on Spirit, &c. Part I. p. 74.

Light, I suppose the aforementioned Author would infer. that, as the Word *Elohim* shews there were more Gods than one concerned in the Creation of this World, so the singular Verb *Bara* implies, that these Gods, according to the Doctrine of *Athanasius*, are but one undivided Substance, or, in short, but one God.

To which I need only answer, by transcribing a Paragraph out of *Selden's Titles of Honour*, Chap. vii. where, speaking of the Custom of addressing Princes by Words in the plural Number, he says, “ And to
 “ this Purpose that of the *Jews* is especially observ-
 “ able. They say, that in their Language, by Rea-
 “ son of the Plurality of Virtues, or Power (being
 “ the true Roots of Dignity) which are supposed in a
 “ Superior, they use the plural Number to, or of, one
 “ Man. Their *Adonim* is plural, yet often used as
 “ singular. Every Tongue, says *Aben Ezra*, hath
 “ its Property. As it is honourable in the Tongues
 “ of *Europe*, for an Inferior to speak to a great Man
 “ by the plural Number; so in the *Arabic* (or *Isma-*
 “ *elitish*, as he calls it) it is honourable for a great
 “ Man to speak in the plural. But also he transfers
 “ it to the Honour of great Men in the third Per-
 “ son. So likewise, saith he, in the holy Tongue
 “ it is honourable to speak of a Potentate plurally,
 “ as *Adonim* and *Baalim*. For they say *Adonim kasha*,
 “ that is, *Domini durus*; and also *lachach Baalim*, that
 “ is, *accepit Domini ejus*. And upon this Conceit
 “ do they interpret the plural of *Elohim* joined with a
 “ singular Verb, which, with us Christians, is taken
 “ by many for a mystical expressing the Holy Tri-
 “ nity. But their Grammarians make it an *Enallage*
 “ of Number, chiefly to express Excellency in the
 “ Persons to whom it is referred.” And to confirm
 this Observation of Mr. *Selden's*, I might refer Dr.
Randolph to *Gen. vii. 1.* where Almighty God, when
 he had communicated to *Moses* the Godlike Power of
 working

working Miracles, faith unto him, *See I have made THEE A GOD to Pharaoh.* Where the Word God is, in the Original, expressed by the plural Word *Elohim*, though it is manifestly applied to the single Person of *Moses*; and to *Gen. xlii. 30, &c.* Where the original Word, which we translate, *the Man who is the Lord of the Land*, is in the plural Number, *the Lords of the Land*; and yet the Word *took*, which follows it, is in the singular. With numberless other Places.

But, my Lord, supposing we should allow that there were more Gods than one concerned in the Creation of the World, as manifestly appears that there were from *Gen. i. 26.* and *Gen. iii. 22.* where it is said, *Let us make Man in our Image.* And *behold the Man is become as one of us*: Yet the Verb *Bara* being in the Singular, will not prove them to be one Substance; because, in the Language of the Scriptures, that which is done by many Persons, is often said to be done by one in the singular Number; when the Execution of the Work is performed by many, but the Authority by which the Act was done, proceeded from one. And therefore the singular Number of the Verb *Bara*, *created*, may be here applied to the Supreme God, by whose Will and Authority it was, that other Gods were permitted, and enabled to act; just in the same Sense and Style of Language as *Moses*, when speaking of *Joseph*, in this same Book of *Genesis*, saith, *And the Keeper of the Prison committed to Joseph's Hands all the Prisoners that were in the Prison, and whatsoever THEY did HE was the Doer of it* [1].

And indeed, this is so common a Method of Expression in the Style of holy Writ, that, unless this Manner of Interpretation be allowed, I do not know how to reconcile many Passages in the *Old and New Testament*, either with themselves, or with common Sense. Where it

[1] *Gen. xxxix. 22.*

is usual for one or more Persons to act, or speak, by the Power and Authority of another Person, without making the least mention of the Authority by which they act or speak. Thus it was that the *Angel of Jehovah*, which spoke to *Moses* out of the Bush, calleth himself, *the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob* [2]; because he was commissioned by *Jehovah*, who was the God of *Abraham*, the God of *Isaac*, and the God of *Jacob*. With numberless other Instances to the same Purpose [3]. And whereas Dr. *Randolph*, in Opposition to this, observes, that “Viceroy, Embassadors, Messengers, Proxies, &c. may sustain the Character, and speak in the Name of another Person: But, says he, did ever any of these do thus, without making the least mention of him who commissioned them? Do not such Deputies always first open the Commission, and declare in the most explicit Manner, by whose Authority, and in whose Name they act and speak? Did ever any Embassador say, I am the King [4]?” The Answer to this is easily given. For although, in these western and more temperate Regions, such bold Figures of Speech are not usual, yet in the eastern Countries, and Languages, nothing is more common; and particularly in the Language of the Scriptures; of which, I think, I need only give the following Instance, where *Moses*, at the Time of the Delivery of the Law on Mount *Sinai*, expresseth himself thus. *And God spake all these Words, saying, I am Jehovah thy God, which have brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, out of the House of Bondage. Thou shalt have none other Gods before me* [5]. Whereas St. *Stephen* declares, that it was an *Angel who spake to Moses, and the Israelites, in Mount Sinai*; and that

[2] Exod. iii. 2, 6. See Walton's Proleg. to the Polyg. Bible, Idiot. Ling. Heb. & Græc. Sect. 23.

[3] Essay on Spirit, Sect. 54, &c.

[4] Rand. Vind. Part I. p. 71, 72. [5] Exod. xx. 1, &c. they

they received the Law by the Disposition of Angels [6]. And St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, says, that the Law was ordained by Angels in the Hand of a Mediator [7]. And in his Epistle to the Hebrews, he calleth it, the Word spoken by Angels [8]. Now, if it was by the Disposition of these Angels, that the Law was promulgated to Moses and the Israelites; or, if this Word was spoken by Angels, did not the Angels say, *I am Jehovah thy God, &c.* without making the least mention of the Commission by which they spoke? And is not that at least as daring and bold a Figure of Speech, as for a Viceroy or an Embassador to say, *I am the King*? We must therefore consider the Hebrew Language, as most of the Oriental Languages are, as being more figurative, bold and elevated in its Style, than those of the western Climates; and not to be tied down in its Interpretation to the severer Rules of modern Criticism.

I am, my Lord, afraid of being tiresome, as the Subject I am now upon is something metaphysical, and intricate; but as the greatest Part of Christendom hath been engaged in this Dispute for upwards of Fourteen Hundred Years; and as I think the Consideration of the Nature of that Being, who interposeth as a *Mediator* between God and Man is absolutely necessary towards a rational Explanation of the History of the Fall and Redemption of Mankind, as revealed in the sacred Writings of the Old and New Testament, I must beg your Lordship's Indulgence in permitting me to make a little further Enquiry into it.

And, in order to state this Question fairly, I will endeavour to give your Lordship a short History of the Rise and Progress of it. And therefore, I think, it will be proper to observe to you in the first Place, that our Saviour, after his Death, and before he made

[6] Acts vii. 37, 38. [7] Gal. iii. 10. [8] Heb. ii. 2.

his public Ascension into Heaven, commanded his Disciples to go into all Nations, *baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. Which Command he not having thought proper further to explain at that Time, hath occasioned Variety of Opinions in the Christian Church concerning the Interpretation of it. For, as it is certain there is but one God, and yet it being said in the Scriptures, that the Father and the Son *are one*, and that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who *bear Record in Heaven are but one* [9], some Persons asserted, that these three distinct Spirits of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, were but one Spirit, or God. Which being a Contradiction in Terms occasioned that Ridicule, which was thrown on the Christian Religion in the second Century by *Lucian* and others [1].

Now it is certain that three Persons, or Spirits, may be *one*, though they cannot be one Person or one Spirit. For they may be *one* in Interest or Design, or they may be *one* agreeing in one Testimony, or bearing *one Record*. Thus, when *Moses* informeth us that when the Sons of *Noah* were in *Shinar*, and were all *united in one* Design of building the Tower of *Babel*, and all spoke the same Language, he says, *Behold the People is ONE, and they have all ONE Lan-*

[9] 1 John v. 7. In order to put this Argument in its strongest Light, I here suppose this Text to be genuine, although the Probability is strong on the other Side of the Question, and *Dr. Jortin* positively says it is *spurious*, and is still maintained in bold Defiance of the fullest and clearest Evidence against it. *Jort. Rem. on Eccles. Hist. p. 100.* And what is very remarkable is this, that *Athanasius*, who spent his whole Life in disputing upon this Subject, and gives an Account of all the Arguments used at the Council of *Nice*, &c. does not, in all his voluminous Works, once quote this Text; and it is hardly conceivable, that, had it been in any Copies of the Bible that were extant at that Time, but some Bishop or other, of the many that were Favourers of the Consubstantial Doctrine, must have discovered it.

[1] See the Dialogue attributed to *Lucian*, entitled *Philopatriis*.

guage [2]. And again, when speaking of the second Dream which *Pharaoh* had, that was of the *same Kind* or Purport with the first, he says, *The Dream of Pharaoh is ONE* [3], *i. e.* is of the *same Kind*, or to the *same Purport* with the first. It is likewise to be observed, that, when our Saviour had a Mind to express that *Unity* of Happiness which his Disciples were to enjoy in his Kingdom in another World, he prays to GOD, saying, *Father, keep, through thine own Name, those whom thou hast given me, that they may be ONE as we are* [4]. And again he says, *Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their Word; that they all may be ONE, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they may be ONE in us* [5]. And when St. Paul is speaking of the *Unity* of Design with which the Ministers of Christ's Gospel were animated, he says, *Now be that planteth and he that watereth ARE ONE* [6]. And it may be remarked, that, in the Communion Service of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, it is declared, that, *they who receive the Holy Sacrament with a lively Faith, spiritually eat the Flesh of Christ, and drink his Blood; that they dwell in Christ, and Christ in them; that they are ONE with Christ, and Christ with them*; and nevertheless it cannot be supposed that the Compilers of this Liturgy intended to assert thereby that all faithful Communicants are one individual Being, Person, Spirit, or Substance, with Christ their Saviour. And although it is positively said in the Scripture that *Man and Wife are*, not only one, but *one Flesh*, yet I believe no Body in their sober Senses would from thence assert that Man and Wife are one individual Substance.

However, this extraordinary Opinion of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, being but one and the same

[2] Gen. xi. 6.

[3] Gen. xli. 25. Which the Sept. Vers. renders, *ἐν ἑνὶ ὄνειρῳ*.

[4] John xvii. 11.

[5] John xvii. 20, 21.

[6] *ἐν ἑνὶ*. 1 Cor. iii. 8.

Spirit, or Effence, still gaining Ground, and particularly in *Egypt*, *Sabellius*, in order to avoid the Contradiction of supposing this one Spirit to be three Spirits, asserted these three Denominations of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit only to denote so many Attributes of the one Divine Being, exerted in the different Operations of Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification, &c. and accordingly on his asserting the Father and the Son to be but one and the same Effence, his Disciples were ridiculed under the Title of *Patropassians* [7]; because if Father and Son were one and the same Effence, or Being, it must of Course follow, that, if the Son suffered, the Father must suffer also.

But as this Opinion of *Sabellius* was manifestly liable to this further Objection, that it would from thence follow, that the Son had no proper Substance of his own, and did not exist in *Reality*, but in *Appearance only*; it was therefore asserted by others, that this Unity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, did not consist in a real Unity of Substance, or Being; but only in an Unity or Harmony of Will. And that they were three separate and distinct Spirits, really and truly existing, as such. And although in the Language of the Scriptures there be that are called Gods, yet that there is in reality but one supreme God, even the Father; and that the Son, though he is called God in holy Writ, is a separate Spirit from the Father, and is inferior to him. That indeed as he existed, and had Glory with the Father before the World was, he may be said to be eternal; but as he did not exist till he was begotten, it was denied that he was coeternal with the Father, who begat him. And that as he existed by the Will of the Father, so it was asserted that he could not be coequal with him, but was inferior and subordinate to him in all Things. Which was the Opinion of *Arius* [8].

[7] Athan. Tom. I. p. 740. Par. Ed.

[8] Athan. Tom. I. p. 729.

But although this Dispute began early in the Christian Church, it did not come to any public Determination until the Time of the Council of *Nice*, which met A. D. 325, by the Authority of *Constantine* the Great. At which Time it was decreed, that “ the Son was
 “ begotten of the Father, that is, out of the Substance
 “ of the Father, that he was God of God, Light of
 “ Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made,
 “ being consubstantial with the Father, by whom all
 “ Things were made, &c.”

By which Expression of being *consubstantial* with the Father, the *Nicene* Council did not mean, what our *English* Translation seemeth to import, that the Father and Son continued, after the Son was begotten, to be one and the same individual Substance, but only that the Son was of the same Kind of Substance with the Father; as an human Son, although a distinct and separate Existence, is of the same Kind of Substance with his natural Father*.

And indeed *Athanasius*, who, although not a Member, was present at the Council of *Nice*, often maketh

[* It is observed, that the *Nicene* Fathers give no Marks of their believing the Son's Equality to the Father in Power and Glory; but the contrary. 1. They declare the Father to be *the one God Almighty*. 2. They call the Son only *God of God*, i. e. a God derived of that one God the Father. And it is not evil (says *Zanchius*) to assert, that he, who is God of God, is inferior to him who is not God of God, but hath his Deity of himself. 3. *Light of Light* seems to imply what the early Writers intended, when they represent the Father as the Body of the Sun, and the Son as a Portion or Ray of it. 4. *Homoousias*, or of one [generic] Substance with the Father does not imply any Equality of Power and Glory, whatever it does as to sameness of Nature and kind of Substance. It was not objected against *Arius* that he held the Father's Superiority to the Son. Of little moment therefore is what Bishop *Bull*, Dr. *Waterland*, &c. lay their main Stress upon, which is wholly omitted by the earliest Writers,—rashly asserted by *Tertullian*, yet flatly rejected by others; and after all is nothing to the main Point; and is what no Man on Earth knows any thing of. See more in Mr. *Emlyn's* Remarks on the Four *London* Ministers, in his Tracts, Vol. II. p. 423, 4.]

Use of this Similitude in explaining the Word Consubstantial, and positively declareth any two Things which are of the same Kind or Nature, but in particular a human Father and Son, to be consubstantial the one with the other [9]. And therefore the *Nicene* Fathers, for Fear of running into Sabellianism, did not decree the Son to be *μονοὺςσιον*, of one Substance, but *ὁμοὺςσιον τῷ πατρὶ*, consubstantial with, or, of the same Kind of Substance with, the Father. And in their Debates declared, that when the Son was said to be of the Substance of the Father, this was to be understood not after a corporeal Manner; or as if effected by Division or Section of the paternal Substance, but after a divine and inexplicable Manner. And that by this Expression of Consubstantial, they meant no more, than that the Son had no Similitude with the Creatures that were made by him; but that he was every Way like the Father who begat him: And that he proceeded from no other *Usia* or *Hypostasis*, but from the Father [1]. Which Creed was afterwards signed by the Arians in general, and even by *Arius* himself.

But here it should be remarked, that when the *Nicene* Fathers declared the Son to be begotten of the Father, they added these Words, *τοῦτέστιν, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῷ πατρί*, that is, out of the Substance of the Father, which being expressive of the Separation of the Son from the Father, have been omitted out of all the later Editions, and Translations, of the *Nicene* Creed. And the Word *ὁμοὺςσιος* hath been rendered in *English*, not *Consubstantial* [or of one Substance in Kind] as it ought to have been, but of *one Substance*, which it ought not to have been; which pious Frauds, I suppose, were well meant, but were certainly dishonest.

However, as this Consubstantial Doctrine proved liable to great Difficulties; it being objected to by the *Arians*, that, if the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,

[9] Athan. Tom. I. p. 729.

[1] Ibid. p. 239, 240, 241.

be allowed to be three separate and co-equal Spirits, let this Separation have been made in never so *divine* or *inexplicable a Manner*; this would make them to be three co-equal Gods, as effectually as *Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus*, were three Men, although the Authority of the *Triumvirate* should be allowed to be but *one*.

To obviate which Objection, *Athanasius*, several Years after the Council of *Nice* was ended, quitted the *Nicene*, and adopted the *Sabellian* Doctrine of not separating, or dividing the Holy Trinity; and saith in his Letter to the People of *Antioch*, which was written towards the latter End of his Life, that this is the true Method to oppose the *Arian* Heresy, τὸ μὴ διαίρειν τὴν ἁγίαν τετράδα, *not to divide the Holy Trinity* [2]. Which is manifest *Sabellianism*.

And indeed this seemeth to have been his own private Opinion long before; for though he openly abuseth *Sabellius* by Name, yet when he attempteth explaining what he means by the Son of God, he describeth him, just as *Sabellius* would have done, as being one of the inseparable Attributes of the Father. Thus for Example, in his second Oration against the *Arians*, when speaking of the Co-eternity of the Son with the Father, he saith, “Or who, I beseech you, “ would not be mad, that should even in Thought “ admit that God ever could have existed without a “ Word, or Wisdom?” And to shew that he meant that divine Person, whom we call the Son of God, by this Attribute of *Wisdom*, without which God the Father could not even be conceived to exist, he saith, a few Pages afterwards, “Are not these monstrous “ Absurdities to suppose *Wisdom* to be co-existent “ with the Father, and yet not to suppose that Wis- “ dom to be *Christ* [3]?”

[2] *Athan. Tom. I. p. 772.*[3] *Ibid. p. 500. 506.*

And in this he seems to have been followed by most of our modern orthodox Divines who have written on this Subject, from Dr. *South* down to Mr. *Jones*, who suppose the Trinity to consist only of one Being, Spirit, or Essence, variously modified, and exerting itself in the several Attributes, Offices, or Operations of the Godhead. For thus Dr. *Randolph* in particular declares his Approbation of the aforementioned Doctrine, and quoteth *Athanasius* and others in Support of it, and then adds, “If the Son, they say, is the Word, or Reason, and Wisdom of the Father, the Father could never exist without him [4].” And, Mr. *Jones*, in his Pamphlet, entitled, *A full Answer to the Essay on Spirit*, in Support of the same Doctrine, saith, that when *Athanasius* calleth the Father a Cause, “He meaneth only that the first Person of the Trinity is a Cause with Respect of that Office he hath taken upon himself, in the Oeconomy of Man’s Redemption [5].” Which, if there be such a Thing as a *Patropassian* [6] Doctrine, must certainly be it; since, according to this Author, it is God the Father, who redeemed Mankind, and suffered for them, by taking that Office of Redemption on himself. And Mr. *Knowles*, in his Answer to the *Essay on Spirit*, when speaking of the Difference there is between *Usia* and *Hypostasis*, saith, that “*Athanasius* thought the different Offices of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in Relation to us, and our Redemption, denoted the different *Hypostases*, but that in these several Offices, they all preserved the τὸ ὄν, the peculiar Properties of the Godhead, Self-existence, and Eternity.” Whereas this Doctrine seems plainly to contradict the *Nicene Creed*, which positively declares the Son to have been *begotten of the Father before all Worlds*. For, if he was *begotten*, how could he possibly be *self-existent*? These

[4] Rand. Vind. Part I. p. 48.

[5] Full Ans. p. 70.

[6] See Page 453.

two Words, when applied to the same Person, being a Contradiction in Terms. And so Mr. *Hutchinson* positively calls it, in his *Covenant of the Cherubim*, p. 339, where he has these Words, “The stupid, self-contradicting Notion of eternal Generation, which has confounded the Christian Faith more than any other Position.” For, as he supposeth the second and third Persons in the Trinity to be self-existent, and co-eternal, and co-equal with the First, the supposing one of them to be a Son, and to have been begotten, even before all Worlds, is undoubtedly a Contradiction. Which also shews that the *Nicene* Fathers, when they admitted this Article into the Creed, *begotten of the Father before all Worlds*, did not consider *Jesus Christ* as being one Substance with the Father, nor as being self-existent and co-eternal with the Father; although they might think that he was begotten by, and out of the same Kind of Substance with, the Father.

But, to proceed with Mr. *Knowles*, who says again, “For with Respect to their Divinity, or *Ufia*, it is one and the same in all; the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; but, with Regard to the Difference of their Relation to us, the *Hypostasis* of the Father consists in *Creating*, the *Hypostasis* of the Son in *Redeeming*, and the *Hypostasis* of the Holy Ghost in *Sanctifying*.” And again he saith, “The Plurality of the *Hypostases* therefore must center in one Essence or *Ufia*; only that Essence is distinguishable, in a *personal Capacity*, by *relative Denominations*; which no more make them three Substances than (according to the common Similitude among the Antients, to illustrate this Mystery) the several Members of the Body, which have separate *Offices*, can be called several Bodies [7].”

And now, my Lord, that I have brought this Doctrine down to our own Times, let us consider what is the Consequence of it, supposing it to be true. Which is this, that the *Athanasian* Doctrine of the Trinity is to be considered as recommending the Belief of a Trinity of Attributes, or Modes, or Faculties, or Offices, under the specious Denomination of *Persons*. In which Sense of the Word every Angel, and every intelligent Agent, may be considered as consisting of, and as being composed of as many *Persons*, as he has *Members in his Body capable of performing separate OFFICES*. And the Deity may be considered as being composed of as many Persons as there are Attributes in the Godhead. Which Persons must not be looked upon and regarded as so many real Persons having a separate Existence and Being of their own; but as so many Faculties that are personalized by a Figure in Rhetorick called *Prosopopæia*, and ought to be considered on the same Footing with the *Roman* Deities of *Faith, Honour, Truth, &c.* which were only so many Virtues that were deified by the Poets, and represented in an human Shape without any real Being, or Existence of their own. For such must our Saviour be, if he is only to be considered as one of the Attributes of God the Father, and not as a separate, and distinct Being; but only as the *Wisdom* or *Power* of God personalized under the *relative Denomination* of the Son of God.

But, my Lord, as I know your Lordship to be a Lover of Truth, and to be too impartial a Judge to hear only with one Ear; I perceive you will object, that if the above Doctrine be not true, and that the three Persons of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are not to be considered as imaginary Persons, but as three real, separate, and distinct Existences, then it will follow, that there must be three Gods, whereas Reason and Revelation agree in asserting there is but one God.

If

If I had not written so long a Letter to your Lordship at present, I would proceed to satisfy you in this Particular, but for fear of giving you a Surfeit of too much Disputation all at once, I shall beg Leave to adjourn this Debate, till I have another Opportunity of presenting my Respects to you, and of assuring you how much I am

Your Lordship's, &c.

LETTER V.

MY LORD,

TOWARDS the Close of my last Letter I promised to give your Lordship an Answer to this Objection, that if the three Persons of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are not to be considered as imaginary Persons, but as three real, separate, and distinct Existences, then it will follow there must be three Gods; whereas Reason and Revelation agree in asserting there is but one God.

In Answer to which, it must be acknowledged, that there is but one supreme God, in Comparison with whom those other Beings, who are sometimes called Gods, are in Reality no Gods at all. And therefore, when we speak of *God* in the general, we are then supposed to allude to that one supreme God; as Bishop *Pearson* in his Treatise on the Creed remarks, when he says, *From hence it is observed that the Name of God taken absolutely, is often in the Scriptures spoken of the Father* [8]. It must likewise be acknowledged,

[8] *Pearson* on the Creed, p. 40. See also *Randolph's Vind.* Part II. p. 67.

that this God can be but *one*, in the strictest Sense of the Word. And as St. *John* says, that *GOD is a Spirit*, the Unity of the Godhead must consist in the Unity of this Spirit. Which Spirit, it would be Blasphemy to suppose, could be compounded of, or divided into, more Spirits than one. God, indeed, may create Spirits of an inferior Order to himself, endued with such Degrees of Power, or Perfection, as he is pleased to communicate to them. But he cannot create, beget, or any other Way produce, another Spirit equal to, or independent of, himself.

And though an eternally active Being may be supposed to have acted from all Eternity, and although those Productions of the Almighty *Fiat*, must by us be called eternal, because their Origin is before all Measures of Time, yet can they not be co-eternal with their Creator; because that which is originated, cannot be co-eternal with that which is unoriginated.

When God said *let there be Light, and there was Light*, the Effect was instantaneous, and yet the Effect was not coeval with its Cause, although the Difference was too minute to be noted by any Measure of Time; for the Will of God, which was its Cause, preceded the Effect. And in like Manner the most eternal Actions, or Productions of the first Cause, unless you suppose him to be a necessary Agent, must have been preceded by his Will; and *Athanasius* himself allows, that to say *the Son* was begotten by the Will of the Father, is the same as to say there was a Time when the Son was not. [9].

Now if we consult the Scriptures either of the Old and New Testament, we shall therein find this Title of *God*, not only given to *Angels*, as I observed to your Lordship in a former Letter, but even to Men, who having received some extraordinary Power from God, act thereby as his Delegates and Representatives. Thus God, when he had communicated the Power of

[9] *Athan. Tom. I. p. 510. 513.*

working Miracles to *Moses*, saith unto him, *See, I have made thee a GOD to Pharaoh* [1]. And the holy *David*, in the 82d Psalm, applies the same Term of GOD to those Persons in the Jewish State, to whom the Godlike Power of *Judgment was committed*; which is also confirmed by the express Approbation of our Saviour, who likewise calleth them *Gods* [2], and makes Use of this Text of Scripture as the very Apology to the *Jews* for *making himself a God*; to whom *Jesus* answered and said, *Is it not written in your Law, I SAID YE ARE GODS? If he called them Gods unto whom the Word of God came, and the Scriptures cannot be broken; say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the World, Thou blasphemest; because I said I am the Son of God?* And *St. Paul* plainly declares, that *though there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven, or in Earth, (as there be Gods many, and Lords many) yet to us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all Things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all Things, and we by him* [3]. The plain Meaning of which Text is this, that although there are many Beings both in Heaven and Earth, to whom the Title and Appellation of God is applied in common Speech, yet, strictly speaking there is no other God but one, and that is God the Father, of whom are all Things, and we in him. And therefore *St. Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Romans*, saith accordingly, *Now the God of Patience and Consolation grant you to be like minded one to another, according to Christ Jesus; that ye may with one Mind and one Mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ* [4]. Where the Appellation of God is given to the Father alone, not in Contradistinction to the Idols of the Heathen, by which Pretence *Dr. Randolph* [5] seems vainly to attempt to elude the Force of the foregoing Text, but in Contradistinction to his Son, our Lord *Jesus Christ*.

[1] *Exod. vii. 1.* [2] *John x. 30. 34.* [3] *1 Cor. viii. 6.* [4] *Rom. xv. 5; 6.* [5] *Vind. Part II. p. 63.*

And in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, St. Paul expresseth himself thus, *Giving Thanks always for all Things unto God, even the Father, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ* [6]. And to the *Colossians* he saith, *We give Thanks to God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ* [7].

And therefore, although the Title of God is in the Language of the Scriptures given to Men and Angels, and in particular to the *Messiah* or *Christ* the Son of God, who is in a most emphatical Manner called *EMANUEL*, which being interpreted is GOD WITH US [8], or *our God*; wherefore the Prophet *Isaiah*, when speaking of the Coming of Christ, says, *And it shall be said in that Day, Lo, this is OUR GOD, we have waited for him, and he will save us: this is the Lord, we have waited for him, we will be glad, and rejoice in his Salvation* [9]; this must nevertheless be understood to be in Subordination to that supreme God, who is our God, and their God, and his God. Accordingly God the Father is in exprefs Terms said to be the God of *Jesus Christ*, not only while he abode here in a State of Humiliation upon Earth; but even after his Resurrection. For thus our Saviour himself declared unto *Mary Magdalen*, when he appeared unto her, after his Resurrection from the dead, and said, *Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended unto my Father; but go to my Brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to MY GOD, and your God* [1]. And accordingly the Apostle to the *Ephesians* saith, *Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ* [2]. And again, *That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, may give unto you the Spirit of Wisdom* [3]. And the Apostle *Peter* saith, *Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ* [4]. And the Apostle *Paul*, in his

[6] Eph. v. 20. [7] Col. i. 3. See also 1 Tim. i. 1, 2.
2 Tim. i. 2. Tit. i. 4. Philem. 3. Heb. xiii. 20. 1 Pet. v. 10,
&c. [8] Matt. i. 23. [9] If. xxv. 9. [1] John xx.
17. [2] John xx. 17. [3] Eph. i. 3. [4] Eph. i. 17.
Epistle

Epistle to the *Hebrews*, when speaking of God the Father, and of God the Son, saith, *But unto the Son he (the Father) saith, Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a Sceptre of Righteousness is the Sceptre of thy Kingdom. Thou hast loved Righteousness and hated Iniquity; therefore God, EVEN THY GOD, hath anointed thee with the Oil of Gladness, above thy Fellows* [5]. And yet none of these Epistles were written till after our Saviour had ascended into Heaven, and was set down at the Right-hand of the Throne of God [6]. In which Situation, and when in full Possession of his Glory, and when all Things are subdued unto him, the Apostle declares that even then, *the Son shall also himself be subject unto him that did put all Things under him, that God may be all in all* [7]. And accordingly we find, that the Apostles Creed, as all the antient Creeds do, begins with these Words, “ I believe in God, the Father Almighty, “ Maker of Heaven and Earth; and in Jesus Christ “ his only Son our Lord.” Where the Title of *God* is manifestly given to the Father only, in plain Contradistinction from Jesus Christ, who is there entitled *his only Son, our Lord*. And therefore it manifestly appears from hence, that there is Contradiction, either to Reason or Revelation, in supposing the three Persons of *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, to be three Gods, provided it be not at the same Time asserted that these three Gods are one God, or that the Son and Holy Spirit are self-existent, or co-eternal, and co-equal, with God the Father.

And indeed well may that exalted Being, who is particularly dignified and distinguished by the Appellation of the Son of God, be called *Emanuel*, that is, *God with us, or our God*. Because, we are his *People* and the Work of his Hands, and are to be his Subjects in that particular *Kingdom* which is appointed for him by God the Father [8]. And accordingly it is

[5] 1 Pet. i. 3.

[6] Heb. xii. 2. viii. 1. Acts ii. 33.

[7] 1 Cor. xv. 28.

[8] Luke xxii. 29.

declared by St. Paul, that this World was made by him and for him, for thus that Apostle begins his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, *God, who at sundry Times, and in divers Manners, spake in Time past unto the Fathers by the Prophets, hath in these last Days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed Heir of all Things*, BY WHOM ALSO HE MADE THE WORLDS [9]. And in his Epistle to the *Colossians*, he says, that *all Things were made by him, and for him* [1].

But here, my Lord, it may be asked, for I will let no Objection, that is worthy of the least Notice, pass unregarded; are then any Sexes in God? Hath God a Son? And doth God beget Gods, as Men beget Children? Forbid the Thought! But when we speak of Christ as the Son of God before all Ages, this Expression must not be understood as being significative of the Manner of his Production into Existence, but only as intended to denote God's Affection towards him, howsoever he was brought into Existence by God the Father; whether he was emanated, or spoken forth, or after whatever Manner that was effected. So that, when this exalted Spirit is described as being *the FIRST BORN of the whole Creation* [2], we must look upon this Expression as made Use of only to denote the Time of his Production into Being, and not the real Manner of it; the Writers of the Holy Scriptures being obliged to make Use of this Term, in Compliance with, and Condescension to, the Comprehension of the human Understanding. And in like Manner our Saviour is said to be the *Son of God*, and to be *the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all Worlds*, in Order to denote his great Eminency in the Creation, with Regard to us, and God's great Love and Affection with Regard to him; the Denominations of a Son, a first born Son, and an only Son, being the nearest, and dearest, Relation which Mankind is acquainted with. And for this

[9] Heb. i. 2. [1] Col. i. 16. [2] Col. i. 15.

Reason it was, that God, when he had a Mind to shew *Pharoah* the great Regard and Love, which he had for the Children of *Israel*, ordered *Moses* to express himself after this peculiar Manner, *Thou shalt say unto Pharoah, Israel is my Son, even my FIRST BORN* [3].

And as all created Beings, whether Men, or Angels, are sometimes called the *Sons of God* [4]: For, as the Prophet expresseth it, *Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us* [5]? So this exalted Being, who was *the first born of the whole Creation* [6], or as St. *John* more properly words it, was *the Beginning of the Creation of God* [7], has a better Title to this Appellation than any of the rest, as he was the first, and therefore probably the most perfect, and compleat, Production of God's creative Power.

However, the principal Reason why he is called the *Son of God*, is, because he was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the *Virgin Mary*; by which Means, He who had *Glory with the Father before the World was, emptied himself*, or divested himself of that Glory, in Order to redeem Mankind, and descended from Heaven, and *took upon him the Form of a Servant, and was made Man*. That is, He, who was a glorified pre-existing Spirit in the Presence of God, submitted to descend from Heaven, and to have himself conveyed by the wonderful Power of Almighty God, into the Womb of a Virgin; where, being cloathed with Flesh, and ripening by Degrees to Maturity, he was at Length brought forth into the World, in the same apparent State and Condition, with other human Infants. And upon this Account it is, that he is truly *the Son of God*, there being no one Text of Scripture, that can be justly said to apply this Title to him, until he was conceived of the *Virgin Mary*. And this is the Reason why this Son of God was pro-

[3] *Exod.* iv. 22.[4] See *Luke* iii. 38. *Job* i. 6. ii. 1.*Dan.* iii. 25.[5] *Mal.* ii, 10.[6] *Col.* i. 15.[7] *Rev.* iii.

mitted to our first Parents, under the particular Characteristic of *the Seed of the Woman*. For it being now known, by the Assistance of Microscopes, that the vivifying Spirit in all animal Productions proceedeth from the Male, as this Spirit of the Son of God existed, not only before *Abraham*, but before *Adam* was, and was of a superior Order to that of the human Spirit, or Soul, he could not therefore have had a Man for his Father, although he might have a Woman for his Mother. Which wonderful Catastrophe, when the Virgin herself was, by the Information of an Angel, apprized, and forewarned of, and told that she *should bring forth a Son*, she naturally raised this Objection to it, *How shall this be, seeing I know not a Man?* And the Angel answered and said unto her, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the highest shall overshadow thee; therefore that holy Thing, which shall be born of thee, shall be called THE SON OF GOD* [8].

Here, my Lord, is an History of the Divinity of *Christ*, or of *Emanuel*, that is, of *God with us*, or of *our God manifested in the Flesh*, in whom dwelled all the Fullness of the Godhead Bodily [9]. Which, as Mr. *Hume* observes, natural Religion could never have presented us with; the Introduction of which, together with the unfolding and completing of it, seems to be the chief Purport of the History of the sacred Writings: The Account thereof being carried on in one continued Chain through the whole Bible, both in the Old and New Testament, from the first Chapter of *Genesis*, to the last Chapter of the *Revelations*.

And on this Account it was, that I before observed to your Lordship, that we ought to consider this whole Universe as one Community of Spirits, which may all contribute to compose one grand System, with the supreme God at their Head; in which an

[8] Luke i. 31. 34, 35.
Coloss. ii. 9.

[9] Mat. i. 23. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

infinite Number and Variety of Beings, besides Mankind, may be concerned, and which we must take into the Account, before we can frame any tolerable Notion of the Administration of God's Providence, in the *Jewish* or *Christian* Dispensation; that is, either of the Fall of Man by the Temptation of *Satan*, or of the Redemption of Mankind by the Sufferings of the *Messiah*.

For, as the History of the Old Testament begins with informing us of the Fall of Man soon after his Creation; which is represented as having come to pass by the Allurement and Instigation of an evil Spirit or Angel, which, by a Power superior to the common and established Laws of human Nature, was capable of assuming the Form of a Serpent, and of conversing intelligibly with our first Parents, and of persuading them to disobey the Commands of God, whereby they, with their whole Offspring, became liable to Death; so do the subsequent Parts of the same Scriptures, together with the entire History of the New Testament, seem intended to inform us of the Restauration of Mankind to the Favour of God, by and through the Merits and Mediation of that Son of God beforementioned, by whom and for whom this World was created. And who, to defeat the Designs of that evil Spirit called *Satan*, or the *Adversary*, undertook to redeem Mankind from the bad Consequences of their Transgression, by doing, or suffering, whatsoever it should please God to appoint him to do, or suffer, as a Trial of his *Obedience* to God, and his Love to Mankind. To which being *anointed* [1], or appointed, of God, he is therefore called the *Messiah*, or *Christ*, which literally signify *the anointed*. And accordingly, at the same Time that we are informed of the Transgression of our first Parents, we are told for our Comfort, that the Seed of the Woman shall bruize that Serpent's Head, which had

[1] Acts iv. 27, 28,

occasioned their Fall. Which was accordingly done, when the *Messiah*, whose Spirit was of superior Order to Mankind, condescended to take human Nature upon himself, by being born of the Virgin *Mary*, and went through that Scene of Trials and Affliction to which he was *anointed*.

And I do not apprehend that there can be a stronger Proof of the Falshood of that Doctrine, which asserts the Father and the Son to be one and the same undivided, or individual, Substance, than this uncontroverted Declaration of the Scriptures, that this *Messiah*, or *Son of God*, was born of the Virgin *Mary*; whereas, neither the Father, nor the Holy Ghost, were either begotten or born. Since there cannot be a stronger Contradiction in Nature than to assert, that one and the same individual Substance was at the same Time, in the same Place, and not in the same Place; was born, and not born.

But how does your Lordship imagine that Dr. *Randolph* will get rid of this Difficulty? *Why! by denying that the Substance* (i. e. *the divine Essence or Godhead*) *of the Son entered the Womb, and was born* [2]. These are his very Words, and which I never expected to have seen from the Pen of a Church of *England* Divine; but especially of one who sets up for so much Orthodoxy. For, if the divine Essence, or Godhead, did not enter into the Womb of a Virgin, when was it, that that *Fulness of the Godhead which dwelt in him bodily* [3], did enter into him? And, if the Substance of the Son of God did not enter into the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, and was born, what was it that did enter? Was it only the *relative Denomination* of the Son of God, or *the Office of Redemption*, Modes that have no real Existence without some Substance to support them; was it they that entered the Womb, and were born?

[2] *Vind.* Part III. p. 128.[3] *Col.* ii. 9.

St. *Luke* assures us, that the Angel, who declared the Birth of our Saviour to the Shepherds, said, *For unto you is born this Day, in the City of David, a Saviour, which is CHRIST the Lord* [4]. Now, in the *Athanasian Creed* it is said, that *as the reasonable Soul and Flesh is one Man; so God and Man is one Christ*. If therefore Christ was born, then his Godhead must have entered into the Womb, and been born, as well as his Manhood; otherwise it would not be Christ that was born, but only the Man *Jesus*.

The Doctrine of *Paul of Samosata* was, that *Jesus* did not exist before he was born of the Virgin *Mary*; and in Defence thereof, he argued from the Consubstantiality of the Essence of the Son of God with that of the Father [5]; however, he was condemned by a Council of Bishops assembled at *Antioch*, A. D. 269. The same Doctrine was afterwards supported by *Marcellus*, Bishop of *Ancyra*, and was condemned by a Council at *Jerusalem*, A. D. 353 [6]. And is the same Doctrine with that which was, about two Centuries ago, revived by *Faustus Socinus*; and indeed, if what Dr. *Randolph* says be true, then this Opinion of theirs must be right. For, if the Substance of the Son of God, which had Glory with the Father before the World was, did not enter the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, and was born, then that *Jesus*, who was born, did not exist before he was born in the Flesh.

But to return from whence we digressed, if it be a Digression; as those Transactions which passed between the two contending Spirits, *Satan* and the *Messiah*, took up a long Series of Time, according to the Account given us thereof in sacred History; that is, from the Fall of Man by the Temptation of *Satan*, to the Redemption of Mankind by the Sufferings of the *Messiah*; so we cannot suppose that two such po-

[4] Luke ii. 11. [5] Athan. Tom. I. p. 759.

[6] Socrat. Eccles. Hist. L. I. c. 36.

tent Beings would, during the intermediate Space of Time, which passed between these two Catastrophes, be either of them idle, or indifferent, in the Pursuit of their several Purposes. And as the Scheme of *Satan* seems to have been, either out of Ill-will to Mankind, or out of Envy to the *Messiah*, to gain Mankind over to his Party if possible, by engaging them in Acts of Disobedience to their Creator; so the Scheme on the Side of the *Messiah* seems to have consisted in as purposed, and determined, a Resolution to do all in his Power to preserve to himself that *Inheritance* of Mankind, which had been created by him, and for him, and of which he had been *appointed Heir* [7], from falling under the Wrath of God by the Delusions of *Satan*.

And in order to do this more effectually, and to preserve the Knowledge of the true God upon Earth, this Son of God not only personally appeared as an Angel, and gave divine Exhortations to *Adam*, and several of the Antediluvian Patriarchs; but in Process of Time, he selected one particular Person, whose Name was *Abraham*, to whom he appeared, and revealed himself after an extraordinary Manner, *because he knew that he would command his Children, and his Household after him, that they should keep the Word of the Lord, to do Justice and Judgment* [8]. And to the Descendants of this Person he afterwards gave a Set of Laws, calculated to defend them from the Delusions of *Satan*, and to prevent their being tainted with that general Corruption of Idolatry, which had overspread the Heathen World.

Nor was *Satan* negligent during all this Time; for he did not only tempt, but prevailed on our first Parents to disobey the Commands of God; and we read that it was also by his Instigation, that *David* was provoked to number the Children of *Israel* [9]; that he op-

[7] Heb. i. 2.

[8] Gen. xviii. 19.

[9] 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

posed *Joshua* the High Priest [6]; that he entered into *Judas* [7], and tempted him to betray our Saviour; that he *bindred* St. *Paul* once and again from visiting the *Thessalonians* [8]; and that he even *now walketh about like a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devour* [9]. And therefore we may also suppose, when *Moses* was enabled to work Miracles, in order to prevail on *Pharaoh* to release the *Israelites*, that it was by the Assistance of *Satan*, that the *Egyptian* Magicians were enabled *to do so too*. But then the Serpent, which was produced from the Rod of *Moses*, in order to shew the Superiority of that Power by which it was produced, swallowed up the Serpents of the Magicians, and at last, even the Power of the Magicians was suspended; insomuch, as that they themselves were obliged to acknowledge, that *this was the Finger of God* [1]. And therefore the *Messiah* or *Christ*, having so far obtained the Victory over *Satan*, he brought the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, where they were beginning to be tainted with the idolatrous Practices of that Country; and guided them as their guardian Angel, from *Egypt* into the Land of *Canaan*, in the Form of a Cloud by Day, and a Pillar of Fire by Night. For, says *JEHOVAH* unto *Moses*, *Behold I send an Angel before thee to keep thee in the Way, and to bring thee into the Place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his Voice, provoke him not; for he will not pardon your Transgressions: For my Name is in him* [2]. And this is the Reason why this Angel is so frequently specified by the *Name of the Angel of Jehovah*; or, as it may be read from the Original, *the Angel Jehovah*. Which moreover shews, that the Name *Jehovah* is not an incommunicable Name, as appears not only from the foregoing Passage, but also from that, where *Moses*, when

[6] Zach. iii. 1.

[7] Luke xxii. 3.

[8] 1 Thess. ii. 8.

[9] 1 Pet. v. 8.

[1] Exod. viii. 19.

[2] Exod. xxiii. 20.

speaking of the Angel who was sent to destroy *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, says, as it is in the Original, *Then JEHOVAH rained upon Sodom and Gomorrab Brimstone and Fire from JEHOVAH in Heaven* [3].

But to this it is objected by some of the Persons aforementioned, who suppose the *Messiah* to be one and the same undivided Substance with God the Father, that this Angel here mentioned cannot possibly be interpreted of *Messiah*, because that would make the Father and Son to be not only two separate and distinct Beings; but would reduce the *Messiah* to the Quality and Degree of an Angel.

That the *Messiah* before he condescended to take human Nature upon himself, did appear as an Angel, though not as a common Angel, but as the visible Image and Representative of *Jehovah*, in the Conduct of the Children of *Israel*, is acknowledged by the concurrent Voice of all Antiquity. But as Tradition, when not founded on the Scriptures, is but an uncertain Guide in Matters of Faith, I think the most advisable Method we can take, is, to have Recourse to the sacred Writings themselves; and to see what they say concerning the Nature of Angels in general, and of those two great Beings, the *Messiah* and *Satan*, in particular.

For, if ever the *Messiah* was employed as an Angel, although in never so exalted a Degree, or although never so high in the Glory of God the Father, he cannot be one and the same undivided Substance with God the Father. Nor, supposing him to be a separate Being, as the very Term of *Equality* seems to imply, can he be even equal to him, any more than that Person who is sent on a Message, can be equal to him who sent him; since, as our Saviour has observed, *the Servant is not greater than his Lord, neither he that is sent, greater than he that sent him* [4].

[3] Gen. xix. 24.

[4] John xiii. 16.

However,

However, in Opposition to this, Dr. *Randolph* roundly asserts, that a Servant may *not only* be equal to his Lord, and he that is sent equal to him that sent him, *but even may be greater*. And how does your Lordship imagine that he proves this wonderful Paradox? Why, says he, “ We read of Kings who have
 “ received Commission from, and served in the Ar-
 “ mies of other Kings, and yet, I suppose, they did
 “ not thereby depart from their regal Dignity. Kings
 “ and Emperors have been Knights of the Garter;
 “ but, if they had been told, that the King of *Eng-*
 “ *land* was their Superior, since he could not have
 “ made them Knights, if he had no Superiority over
 “ them, I believe it would have provoked their
 “ Laughter. The Distinction is very easy and obvi-
 “ ous. He who enters into the Service of another,
 “ is in that Respect his Inferior; he receives Powers
 “ from him, and is obliged to execute his Commands:
 “ But, with Regard to Nature or Dignity, and in
 “ all other Respects, he may be his Equal, or even
 “ his Superior [5].”

And now let us see the Force of this Argument. It is acknowledged that *he who enters into the Service of another, receives Powers from him, and executes his Commands, is in that Respect his Inferior*. So that a Servant is in that Respect inferior, and not equal to his Lord, and he that is sent is inferior to him that sent him; which was all that we contended for. But, says the Doctor, *he may in all other Respects, with Regard to Nature or Dignity, be his Equal, or even his Superior*. As for Example, the Kings of *England* and *France*, who are by Nature and Dignity equal to each other in their several Kingdoms, are yet inferior to each other out of their own Kingdoms. Now to apply this. Our Saviour declares, that *all Power was given unto him, that he came not to do his own Will, but the Will of him who sent him*; that

the Father which sent him, gave him a Commandment what he should say, and what he should speak, &c. &c. &c. But as this Command was given in Heaven, to be executed here on Earth, it is manifest, that in the Kingdoms of Heaven and Earth, God the Father, who gave the Commandment, is superior to the Son, who accepted of it. And therefore, to shew the Son to be equal to the Father, the Doctor must shew that there is some other Kingdom, in which the Son is as much superior to the Father, as the Father is superior to the Son in the aforementioned Kingdoms of Heaven and Earth: Since he, who is inferior to another in any one Respect, can never be said to be equal to that other Person, till it can be proved that he is as much superior to him in some other Respect, Whereas the Doctor is so far from doing this, that in other Parts of his Work, he acknowledgeth *the Son to be inferior and subordinate to the Father, even with Regard to his divine Nature* [6]; and yet is arguing at the same Time for their being co-equal and co-eternal. Which, if it be not a Contradiction in Terms, I do not know what can be called such.

I beg Pardon, my Lord, for troubling you with this tedious Detail of a Disputation; but it is necessary that all this Rubbish should be cleared away, in order to come fairly at the Foundation. I shall therefore, in my next, proceed to consider the Nature of Angels in general, and to enquire into what the Scriptures say in particular of those two great Beings, the *Messiah* and *Satan*.

Who am,

Your Lordship's, &c.

[6] Rand. Vind. Part I. p. 21. Part II. p. 12, 13, 14.

L E T T E R VI.

MY LORD,

I N my last Letter I propos'd to consider the Nature of Angels in general, and to enquire into what the Scriptures say of those two great Beings, the *Messiah* and *Satan* in particular, who were principally concerned in the *Fall* and *Redemption* of Mankind; and here we must take *Revelation* for our Guide, in which we shall find these invisible Beings described as being very numerous, under the several Denominations of *Angels*, *Arch-angels*, *Cherubim*, and *Seraphim*, and all the *Host of Heaven*, and are, in Condescension to human Understanding in the Language of the Scriptures. distinguished among themselves in their several Ranks or Degrees of Power and Pre-eminence, under the honorary Titles of *Thrones*, *Dominions*, *Principalities*, and Powers [1].

Some of which are also spoken of, as being dignified with the extraordinary Denomination of *Angels of God's Presence*. Under which honorary Appellation the Prophet *Isaiab* characteriseth the Guardian Angel of the Kingdom of *Israel*; for, says he, *In all their Afflictions he was afflicted, and the ANGEL OF HIS PRESENCE saved them*: *Isai. xliii. 9.* And when the Angel *Gabriel* appeared to *Zacharias*, *St. Luke* says, *And the ANGEL answering, said unto him, I am Gabriel that stand in the PRESENCE OF GOD, Luke i. 19.* Which Angel of God's Presence being supposed by some Persons to have been those Beings, which, at the Creation of the World, said, *Let us make Man in our Image*, *Gen. i. 26.* And again, at the Confusion

[1] *Eph. vi. 12. Col. i. 16.*

of *Babel*, said, *Let us go down, &c.* Gen. xi. 7. And at the same time, having supposed them to be created Angels, Mr. *Hutchinson* [2] replies, “ If these Angels be created, I desire to know from any Apostle, or any one of his Disciples, how this Rule must hold, when he created them? Or else, that they will allow the Rule is false, and that they are uncreated; and I only desire of my Readers that they will reject those Rules, as groundless Suggestions of the Devil, propagated by the Enemies of God and Man, till this Objection be satisfactorily answered.” A very modest Request!

I do not know whether your Lordship is acquainted with the voluminous Works of this Mr. *Hutchinson*, who is a strange rambling *Cocceian*, or rather *cabalistical* Writer; but if not, the above Quotation will serve for a small Specimen, both of the Inaccuracy and Warmth of his Style, as well as of the Manner of his Reasoning. For, being weak in Argumentation, he immediately flies into a Passion on the least Contradiction, and gives hard Words instead of strong Reasons; his Language and his Manners being tinged with the Lowness of his Birth and Education. For, can any thing be more unargumentative than his Request, of rejecting the Supposition of the Angels of God’s Presence being created Angels, as a Suggestion of the Devil, &c. till it can be proved when they were created? For will not the same Method of Reasoning equally hold with Regard to all the Angels in the Universe? And ought we not for the same Reason to acknowledge them all to be uncreated; because we cannot tell when they were created?

As to the Number of Angels of all Denominations, they may justly be said to be, as the Apostle expresseth it, *innumerable* [3]; and therefore, when their Numbers are spoken of, the holy Penmen are

[2] Cov. of the Cher. p. 338.

[3] Heb. xii. 22.

obliged to make Use of large Numbers in an indefinite Sense. For, thus must be understood that Expression of the holy *David*, when he saith, *The Chariots of God are twenty Thousand, even Thousands of Angels* [4]. As also, when our Saviour, speaking to *Peter*, saith, *Thinkest thou I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve Legions of Angels* [5]. And when the Prophet *Daniel*, describing the Throne of the ancient Days, saith, *A fiery Stream issued, and came from before him, Thousand Thousands ministred unto him, and ten Thousand Times ten Thousand stood before him* [6].

Well therefore may God be termed by the Apostle in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, *the Father of Spirits* [7]; since we have Reason to believe, that not only the planetary Regions are crowded with a Number of intelligent Inhabitants, but, that every Part of the whole Universe, even the intermediate seemingly void Space between these Planets is filled and replete with Spiritual Beings. Which Spirits are called *Angels*, that is, *Messengers*; because they are employed by God as such, in the Execution of his Commands, between him, and the inferior Parts of his Creation. And therefore the royal Psalmist cries out in an holy Rapture; *Bless the Lord, ye his Angels, mighty in Strength, that do his Commandments, hearkening unto the Voice of his Mouth. Bless ye the Lord, all ye his Hosts, ye Ministers of his, that do his Pleasure* [8].

Not that God can divest himself of his *Omnipresence*, for he is at all Times in all Parts of the whole Universe, as the Psalmist beautifully describeth it, when he saith, *If I climb up into Heaven, thou art there; If I go down to Hell, thou art there also; if I take the Wings of the Morning, and remain in the uttermost Parts of the Sea, even there also shall thy Hand*

[4] Psal. lxxviii. 17.

[5] Matt. xxvi. 53.

[6] Dan. vii. 9, 10.

[7] Heb. xii. 9.

[8] Psal. ciii. 20, 21.

lead me, and thy Right-hand shall hold me, &c. [9]. For that Being which is necessarily existent, must be equally so at all Times, and in all Places; while the more immediate Presence of his most refulgent Glory may nevertheless shine enthroned in the Heaven of Heavens, or the radiant Center of the whole Creation. But having, out of his infinite Goodness, thought proper to create a boundless Variety of intelligent Beings, whom he hath endued with very different Talents, and Qualifications; he chooseth to employ these several intelligent Agents in the Exercise of those various Powers and Faculties, with which he hath furnished them, rather than personally to transact every Affair by the immediate Interposition of his own Almighty Power.

Which intelligent Agents, being employed by GOD as *ministring Spirits*, are sent forth by him, either to attend as Guardian Angels, upon these planetary Regions, or to execute any other Purposes of his divine Will, as seemeth most convenient to his unerring Wisdom. If therefore we consider how many Myriads of planetary Worlds may exist in this Universe, let us but think how many Myriads of Myriads of Angels may be employed in an Attendance upon them, and their Inhabitants.

And that this is not an imaginary System, but an Opinion founded on evident Truth, we have the Testimony of God's Word, both in the Old and New Testament to convince us. For, says St. Paul, when speaking of Angels, *are they not ministring Spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be Heirs of Salvation* [1]? And, says the holy David, when speaking of the Poor who are under the Protection of God, *The Angel of the Lord encampeth about them, and delivereth them* [2]. And again, speaking of the Godly, he saith, *For he shall give his Angels Charge*

[9] Psal. cxxxix. 7, 8, 9,
xxxiv. 7.

[1] Heb. i. 14.

[2] Psal.

over thee, to keep thee in all thy Ways [3]. Moses also saith, as it is in the Septuagint Version, that, *when the most high divided to the Nations their Inheritance, when he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the Bounds of the People according to the Number of the Angels of God*; that is, according to the Number of those ruling Angels, which the most high was pleased to appoint to preside over the Nations upon Earth; and saith Moses, *Jehovah's Portion was his People Jacob, the Line of his Inheritance Israel* [4]. And the wise Son of Sirach saith, *For in the Division of the Nations of the whole Earth, God set a Ruler, or governing Angel, over every People, but Israel is Jehovah's Portion* [5].

Whence it appears that this Name of *Jehovah* is here given to some ruling Angel, who had the Government of *Israel* assigned to him for his particular Portion or Province; and to whom, as I before observed, it appears that God had given Permission to be called by this his Name of *Jehovah*. For, when Moses was beseeching God to inform him, who it was that he intended to send to conduct him and the *Israelites*, into the Land of *Canaan*, then God answered and said, *Behold I send an ANGEL before thee to keep thee in the Way, and to bring thee unto the Place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his Voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your Transgressions: FOR MY NAME IS IN HIM* [6].

And as the Kingdom of *Israel* had its ruling, or guardian, Angel assigned to it, for its Protection and Government, so do we find likewise, that the rest of the Nations had their guardian Angels assigned to them also, at the Time when God separated the Sons of *Adam*, and divided to the Nations their Inheritance after the Confusion at *Babel*. Which ruling Angels

[3] Psal. xci. 11. See also Matt. iv. 6. [4] Deut. xxxii. 8. That this is the true Meaning of that Text, see Essay on Spirit, Sect. 36, &c. [5] Eccles. xvii. 17. [6] Exod. xxiii. 20, 21.

are sometimes distinguished by the Name of Arch-angels; which is a Term compounded of two Greek Words, *Archon* and *Angelos*, that literally signify a *ruling Angel*. Thus, for Example, when the Angel *Gabriel* came to instruct the Prophet *Daniel*, he saith unto him, when *Daniel* stood trembling, *Fear not, Daniel, for from the first Day that thou didst set thine Heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before God, thy Words were heard, and I am come for thy Words. But the Prince* (in Hebrew the *Czar*, in Greek *Archon*) that is, the ruling, or arch, Angel, of the Kingdom of *Persia* withstood me one and twenty Days. But lo, *Michael* one of the chief Princes, or Archangels, came to help me. And now I will return and fight with the Prince, or Archangel, of *Persia*. And when I am gone forth, lo, the Prince, or Archangel, of *Græcia* shall come. But I will shew thee that which is noted in the Scripture of Truth; and there is none that boldeth with me in these Things but *Michael* your Prince; whom he in another Place styles, *MICHAEL the great Prince*, or Archangel, which standeth for the Children of thy People. [7].

Whence it manifestly appears, that as *Michael* was the ruling, or guardian, or Archangel of *Daniel* and the Children of *Israel*; so the Kingdoms of *Græcia* and *Persia* had their Ruling, or Arch-Angels also. But here it may possibly be objected, that the Scriptures of the New Testament speak only of one Archangel, which is *Michael*; whom the Apostles *Paul* and *Jude* therefore call the Archangel [8]. But it should be observed, that the Angel *Gabriel* styles *Michael* THE GREAT PRINCE, and therefore, in these Passages of the New Testament, the Apostles are to be considered as calling him the Archangel only by the Way of Eminence, or, as the *Greeks* express it, *κατ' ἑξοχὴν*, as being the chief or principal of the Archangels; as *Homer* is sometimes distinguished by the

[7] Dan. x. 11, &c. xii. 1.

[8] 1 Thess. iv. 16. Jude 9.

Title of *the Poet*. And in Confirmation of this Opinion it may be further observed, that *Vatablus*, in his Comments on the foregoing Passage in *Daniel*, says, That every Region had its Guardian, or Archangel, which he calls *Angelos Præsides*, presiding, or ruling, Angels. And *Calvin*, in his Institutes, asserts the same Thing also, with a Kind of Affelevation: *Certum Daniel Angelum Persarum et Græcorum Angelum inducit, significat certos Angelos Regnis, ac Provinciis, quasi Præsides designari* [9].

From the same Passage of Scripture it likewise appears, that there are not only Angels of different Ranks, and Degrees, presiding over the several Nations upon Earth, and interesting themselves about human Affairs; but also that these ruling Angels, or Archangels, notwithstanding the Excellency of their Natures, are endowed with a fallible Freedom of Will, capable of erring; that they have accordingly a Difference of Sentiments, and Dispute, and Quarrels among themselves, and are some of them good, and some of them bad.

And hence also it is, that, in the Language of the New Testament, *Satan*, who is at the Head of those wicked Angels, which were sent to preside over this World, but neglected, or *kept not their Principalities* [1] is called *the Prince of Devils* [2]. And because he inveigled all the Angels, who were employed about this World, except *Michael* and *Gabriel*, to neglect their Duty and their Governments, and to suffer themselves to be corrupted by him, He is called *the Prince of this World* [3], and they are called *His Angels* [4]. He is also called *the Prince of the Power of the Air* [5]; because these Angels of his, although invisible to us, are Inhabitants of our At-

[9] Calv. Inst. l. i. c. 14. § 7. [1] Jude vi. Ἀρχαί, for so it is in the Original. [2] Matt. xii. 24. [3] John xiv. 30. [4] Matt. xxv. 41, Rev. xii. 7, 9. [5] Eph. i. 2.

mosphere; and therefore St. Paul, speaking of the spiritual Warfare of Christians, saith, *That we wrestle not only against Flesh and Blood, but against Principalities, against Powers, against the Rulers of the Darkness of this World; against wicked Spirits in heavenly Places* [6]; that is, in the Air.

Whence it is probable that Almighty God hath created, and placed these angelical Beings, as well as Mankind, and the rest of the planetary Intelligences, in a State of Probation and Trial, with Passions capable of misleading them from the Truth, and permits even these higher Powers to follow the Dictates of their own Free-will, in Order to prove them, and to try whether they love the Lord, or have Pleasure in Unrighteousness. And therefore St. Paul saith even of that exalted Being who is called the Son of God, that, *Because he loved Righteousness, and hated Iniquity, therefore God, even his God, hath anointed him with the Oil of Gladness above his Fellows* [7].

From whence we are naturally led to admire, and to adore, the impartial Justice of God, who seemeth to have appointed final Happiness, as the Reward of *Merit* to all created moral Intelligences, of what Rank soever they be, from the highest to the lowest; which he will not dispose of, as an arbitrary Prince at his own Will, and Pleasure, but shall be distributed to them according to their Works. And therefore he seemeth to have created no intelligent Beings, let their original, natural Qualifications, which he bestowed on them at first, be ever so great, but what must *work out their own Salvation*; and go through a State of Probation and Trial before they arrive at that ultimate, and fixed, Degree of Happiness, for which they are finally intended.

For although, in the original Formation of the various Species of intelligent Beings, the different Qua-

[6] Eph. vi. 12.

[7] Heb. i. 8, 9.

fications bestowed on them at their Creation may be an Act of *Grace*, or Favour in God, as *the Potter hath Power over the Clay, of the same Lump to make one Vessel to Honour, and another, comparatively speaking, to Dishonour*; and as in a great House, there are not only Vessels of Gold and Silver, but also of Wood and of Earth [8]; so God may exercise the Attributes of his Power, and Goodness, by giving what Share or Degree of natural Abilities, or of spiritual Graces, he pleaseth, to the various Works of his Hands. But, if he did not permit these intelligent Beings to have a Freedom of Will, and did not place them in a State of Probation and Trial, for the Exercise of those Graces and Qualifications that were bestowed upon them, according to the good or bad Use of which, they should be rewarded or punished, there would then be no Room for the Exercise of his Attribute of *Justice*.

Nor indeed can the human Mind frame a Notion of any Degree of Happiness in God superior, or equal, to that which he must receive from his Power of bestowing Happiness on those intelligent Agents who have proved themselves to be worthy of it. But where there is no Freedom of Will, there can be no Merit. And hence appears the true Cause of *the Origin of Evil*, and that is, the Freedom of Agency, in finite, and therefore fallible, Creatures. For, if God had created no free Agents, there would have been no such Thing as *Evil* in the World. But, when God did once determine to create free Agents, there must then of Consequence be such Things as Right, and Wrong, to be the Objects of Choice; and there must also be Rewards and Punishments instituted at the same Time, as Incitements to that which is Right, and Determents from that which is Wrong. Now Good in general is the Incitement to, and Reward of, that which is Right; and Evil is the Determent

[8] Rom. ix. 21. 2 Tim. ii. 20.

from, and Punishment of, that which is Wrong. And altho' in the probationary State either of Men or Angels, Good and Evil, Right and Wrong, may be so blended together, and assume the Appearance of each other, as not always to be easily discerned the one from the other, yet in their final State it will not be so. But as there can be no Trial where there is no Temptation, and as no intelligent Agent can desire Wrong as Wrong, or Evil as Evil; if Wrong could not assume the Semblance of Right, and Evil the Appearance of Good, there would be no such Thing as Temptation in the World, and of Consequence no Trial or Probation. And if, from the imperfect State of Things in that World in which the first Existence of any created Intelligence is appointed, it should necessarily happen, that any intelligent Being, of what Rank soever, should be involved in an unavoidable *Evil*, to which his own Conduct was not accessary, Amends will certainly be made him in his more perfect and final State of Existence; where the Balance of Good and Evil will be ultimately and truly adjusted.

As to those Angels which are distinguished by the Appellation of *Cherubim* and *Seraphim*, it is not certainly known why these Appellations are given them. The Word *Cherub*, according to *Calasio*, signifies a carved Figure or Image, and was probably applied to this Species of Angels, because God ordered Images to be made in carved Work, as Representations of them in the *Holy of Holies*.

However, we meet this Word, *Gen. iii. 24.* when God, on the Expulsion of *Adam* out of Paradise, is said to have placed *at the East End of the Garden of Eden, Cherubs*, or as they are improperly styled in our *English Translation*, *CHERUBIMS, and a flaming Sword which turned every Way, to keep the Way of the Tree of Life.* But we have here no Description given us of the visible Figure, which these *Cherubs*

were

were pleased to assume, when they manifested themselves to *Adam*.

The next Place we find Mention made of them, is in the Book of *Exodus*, xxv. 18. when *Moses* was ordered to make the Tabernacle, and to place in the Sanctuary the Image of two *Cherubs* of beaten Gold, with their Wings stretching before them over the Mercy Seat. For, says God to *Moses*, *The Cherubs shall stretch forth their Wings on high, covering the Mercy Seat with their Wings, and their Faces shall look one to another*; or, as it is in the Hebrew, *and their Faces shall be each Man towards his Brother* [9]. Whence it is apparent, that these *Cherubs* were in an human Form, and that they had each of them but one Face, which was made looking towards his Brother *Cherub*, and towards the Mercy Seat, at each End of which these two *Cherubs* were placed.

But here it may be remarked, that in the Sanctuary built by *Solomon*, the Situation of the *Cherubs* was changed, and instead of being placed at the End of the Table, they were placed at the Side of the Table, standing Side by Side, and with their Faces not looking towards each other, but *towards the House*, as it should be translated, 2 *Chron.* iii. 13. and not *inward*.

Nevertheless we shall find upon Enquiry; that these *Cherubs* did not always appear in a Form entirely agreeing with the human Shape, and had not always only one Face; but that they had sometimes *two Faces*, and sometimes *four*, and were neither in their Heads nor Feet confined to the human Form. For, when *Solomon* had built his Temple, it is said, that he covered all the Walls of the House round about, with carved Figures of *Cherubs* and *Palm Trees* [1]. Which *Cherubs*, it is manifest, had each of them two Faces, as appears from the Prophet *Ezekiel*, who says positively, when describing this Species of carved Work, that it was made with *Cherubs* and *Palm Trees*, so that a

[9] *Exod.* xxv. 20.[1] 1 *Kings* vi. 29.

Palm Tree was between a Cherub and a Cherub, and every Cherub had TWO FACES. So that the Face of a Man was towards the Palm Tree on the one Side, and the Face of a young Lion towards the Palm Tree on the other Side: And it was made throughout all the House round about [2]. Whence it appears, that each of these Cherubs, which were carved on the Walls, had two Faces, and two only, the one of a Man, and the other of a young Lion.

The next Time we meet any Description of these Cherubs, is in the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, when he was among the Captives by the River of *Chebar*, at which Time it pleased the Almighty to shew this Prophet a Vision of the Glory of the God of *Israel*, riding upon the Cherubim, or, as it is otherwise expressed, on the Chariot of the Cherubim [3]. For, says the Prophet, *I saw the Likeness of four living Creatures, which in their Appearance had the Likeness of a Man*, that is, the erect Stature of a Man, *And they had four Faces, and every one had four Wings, and their Feet were straight Feet, and the Sole of their Feet was like the Sole of a Calf's Feet. And as for the Likeness of their Faces, they four had the Face of a Man, and the Face of a Lion on the right Side, and the Face of an Ox on the left Side, and they had also the Face of an Eagle [4].*

[2] Ezek. xli. 18, 19.

[3] 1 Chron. xxviii. 18.

[4] Ezek. i. 1, &c.

And here, I think, it may be proper to take Notice, that in the 14th Verse of the 10th Chapter of *Ezekiel*, where the Prophet, according to the *Hebrew*, the *Latin*, and the *English* Translations of the Bible, is recapitulating the four Faces of this Cherub, he says, *The first was the Face of a Cherub, and the second was the Face of a Man, and the third was the Face of a Lion, and the fourth was the Face of an Eagle.* So that in this last Quotation, the Face of a Cherub is inserted instead of the Face of an Ox; which must be a Mistake in the *Hebrew* Copy. The Probability therefore is, that this Verse has been inserted by Mistake, because it is not in the Septuagint Version of the Bible; but was a Marginal Annotation in some Copy of the *Hebrew* Bible, which some blundering Amnensis has transcribed into the Text, for both in the *Hebrew* and

It may likewise be proper to remark, that the Disposition of the four Faces of this *Cherub* was different from the Disposition of the Faces of the *Cherub* on the Walls of the Temple, as before described; for in *that* the Faces of the Man and the Lion were reverse to each other; whereas in *this* Vision the Faces of the Lion and the Ox were the Reverse to each other; the Face of the *Lion* being on the *right Side*, and the Face of the *Ox* on the *left Side*; so that the Faces of the Man and the Eagle were in the Front and Rear.

But, continues the Prophet, *And there were four Wheels by the Cherubim, one Wheel by one Cherub, and another Wheel by another Cherub, and the four Wheels had one Likeness. And their whole Body and their Back, and their Hands, and their Wings, and the Wheels were full of Eyes round about. And when the living Creatures went, the Wheels went, and when those stood, these stood; and when those were lifted up from the Earth, the Wheels were lifted up along with them; for the Spirit of the living Creature was in the Wheels.* Whence it appears that this living Creature, with the four Heads and four Wheels had but *one Spirit* to animate or enliven it, and is therefore called *the living Creature* in the singular Number.

And the Likeness of the Firmament, or a Cloud, was on the Heads of the living Creature; and above the Firmament that was over their Heads, was the Likeness of a Throne, and upon the Likeness of the Throne was the Likeness of the Appearance of a Man above upon it. As the Appearance of the Bow that is in the Cloud in the Day of Rain, so was the Appearance of the Brightness round about; this was the Appearance of the Likeness of the Glory of the Lord.

Now, though these four *living Creatures*, of which that one *living Creature* was compounded, that sup-

the Septuagint, the Prophet expressly says, that *this is the living Creature which he saw by the River of Chebar.* Ezek. x. 15.

ported the Throne of the Glory of the Lord, are spoken of in the plural Number, and each of them is separately called a *Cherub*, as when the Prophet describes *one Wheel to be by one Cherub, and another Wheel by another Cherub*, yet the whole Composition is also called a *Cherub*, and a *living Creature*, in the singular Number; because it had but one Spirit either in the Body or Wheels. For thus the Prophet expressly describes it, when speaking of the Departure of the Lord from off this Chariot, or Pedestal, of his Glory, he says, *And the Glory of the Lord departed from off the Threshold of the House, and stood over the CHERUBS*: (or *Cherubim*, as it is in the Hebrew) *And the Glory of the God of Israel was over them above. This is the living Creature that I saw under the God of Israel, by the River of Chebar, and I know that they were CHERUBS* [5]. Whence it is manifest, that this Appearance which was *under*, and supported the Throne of the God of Israel, is indifferently called a *CHERUB* and a *living Creature*, in the singular Number, because it had really but one Spirit to animate it; or *Cherubs*, and *living Creatures* in the plural, because it had the Likeness of four different living Creatures, both in its Heads and Feet, which were nevertheless united at the Middle in one Body.

It is likewise manifest that *the Glory of the God of Israel* which sat in the Throne over them above, was animated by a different Spirit from the *Cherub* beneath; because he left the *Cherub*, and went to the Threshold of the House, and afterwards returned to the *Cherub* or *Cherubs* again.

It may perhaps, my Lord, be some Entertainment, for I do not propose it as any Improvement to your Understanding, to hear the various Conjectures of learned Men upon this extraordinary Appearance. For, though the *Jews*, to whom this emblematical Vision of the *Cherub*, or *Cherubs*, which supported

[5] Ezek. ix. 3. 10. 18, 19, 20.

the

the Throne of the God of *Israel*, was made, have the greatest Right to claim it, as referring to some Part of the History of the Children of *Israel*, yet the Christians are for robbing them of it, and claim it to themselves as an emblematical Representation of some Parts of the Gospel of Christ.

Now the *Jews* say that the Reason why this *Cherub*, who supported the Throne of the God of *Israel*, was represented with the four Faces of a Man, a Lion, an Ox, and an Eagle, is, because that these were the four Ensigns, which the four principal Tribes of the Children of *Israel* wore in their Standards, when they were encamped by Order of God in the Wilderness of *Sinai*; and afterwards carried in their Armies, either at the Time of Battle, or in their Marches and Encampments. For it appears from the second Chapter of the Book of *Numbers*, that the twelve Tribes of the *Israelites* were separated into four Divisions round about the Tabernacle; and that they who encamped on the East Side were to range themselves under the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*; those on the South Side under the Standard of *Reuben*; those on the West Side under the Standard of *Ephraim*; and those on the North Side under the Standard of *Dan* [6].

Now, say the *Jews* [7], the Emblem, which the Tribe of *Judah* bore as an Ensign in their Standard, was that of a *Lion*; the Emblem in the Standard of *Reuben* was a *Man*; the Emblem in the Standard of *Ephraim* was an *Ox*; and the Emblem in that of *Dan* was an *Eagle*. And therefore these were four very proper Emblems to compose the ornamental Support of the Throne of the God of *Israel*.

But the Christians not being willing to let the *Jews* have the Honour of this emblematical Ornament,

[6] Num. ii. 3. 10. 18. 25.

[7] See *Masius* on the Book of *Joshua*. *Paul Fagius* on the Book of *Numbers*. *Aben Ezra*, &c.

have applied it to the four Evangelists, and accordingly, if ever your Lordship meets with any of their Pictures, you will find St. *Matthew* accompanied with the Portrait of a *Man*, St. *Mark* with that of a *Lion*, St. *Luke* with that of an *Ox*, and St. *John* with that of an *Eagle*. Which hath produced the following Piece of Poetry :

Hic *Matthæus* agens *Hominem* generaliter implet,
Marcus in alta fremit, Vox per deserta *Leonis*,
Jura Sacerdotii *Lucas* tenet ore *Juveni*,
 More volans *Aquilæ* Verbo petit astra *Johannes*.

And others still to carry this Allegory further, have discovered that the *Birth* of our Saviour was metaphorically, denoted under the Emblem of the *Man*, his *Sacrifice* on the Cross under the Emblem of the *Ox*, his Resurrection from the Dead under the Emblem of the *Lion*, and his Ascension into Heaven under the Emblem of the *Eagle*. Which seems to deserve the following Piece of Poetry :

As the Fool thinks,
 So the Bell chinks.

But of all the fantastical Interpretations that were ever given to this Representation of the four living Creatures, that is the most extraordinary which was invented by the sagacious Mr. *Hutchinson*, and imbibed by his Followers ; who has discovered in it a *demonstrable* [8] Proof of the Athanasian Doctrine of the Trinity. And supposes the three Persons in the Trinity to be represented by the four Emblems of the *Man*, the *Ox*, the *Lion*, and the *Eagle*. So that for the future, instead of representing the Trinity under the well known Emblem of a Triangle in a Circle ; it ought now to be represented by a Square in a Circle ; in which as the four Sides of the Square will answer to the four Faces of the *Cherubs*, so the Circle

[8] Hutch. Cov. of the Cher. p. 211.

will serve to represent the Wheels ; and by this Means, Mr. *Hutchinson's* System will be compleat.

But, I think, that I should do Mr. *Hutchinson* the Justice to inform your Lordship, that he seems to be aware of this Difficulty, *viz.* that four Persons do not well serve as Emblems for three ; and therefore he has invented a most notable Contrivance for reducing these four Heads into three : Which is, by knocking two of these Heads together, and so driving them into one Mass, which will then reduce them to the Number three. For, says he, “ each of the *Cherubims* had four Visages ; or strictly, when two “ should be joined, *three* [9].” And is not this a notable Contrivance ? Is not this a *Demonstration* [1], as he calls it, of the original Evidence of the Mystery of the Trinity ? Or rather, my Lord, to be serious, is not this a shocking and blasphemous Abuse of Scripture, and an Insult on common Sense ?

But to proceed, suppose we should allow these four *Cherubs*, together with their four Wheels, to be personally united together by the Unity of the Spirit that was in them ; yet what becomes of the Unity of the Godhead with this *Trinity*, or rather *Quadrinity* of *Cherubims*, when *the Glory of the God of Israel in the Likeness of the Appearance of a Man*, was not only over them above, and they under him with a *Firmament*, or Cloud, betwixt them ; but when the Glory of the God of *Israel* went up from the *Cherub* whereupon he was, and remained on the Threshold of the House ? For though these four *Cherubs* may have a personal Union one with another, by being joined together in the Middle, and with the Wheels by the Unity of their Spirit ; yet surely they cannot be personally united with *the Likeness of the Appearance of a Man* that was over them above, and which went up

[9] *Glory and Grav.* p. 120.
p. 211.

[1] *Cov. of the Cher.*

from them and left them behind? Which Person, Mr. *Hutchinson* allows to be Christ [2]. For, says he, “The Person above the *Cherubim* was he which was “to rule in the Christian Church, or State.” So that here are four *Cherubims*, and one Person sitting in a Throne above them, which make *five*; and yet these *five* Persons are the demonstrable Representatives of the three Persons in the Trinity. This, my Lord, is even too much for a credulous circumcised Jew [3] to believe.

But this is not all, for Dr. *Hodges* [4], as well as Mr. *Hutchinson* [5] will also have the two *Cherubs* which stood at each End of the Mercy Seat in the Sanctuary built by *Moses*, though each of these two are supposed by them to be composed of four *Cherubs*, to be also a symbolical Representation of the Trinity; so that let the Number of the *Cherubs* be *two*, or *four*, or *five*, or *eight*, it is all one, they must still be the Representatives of the Number *three* in the Trinity. And because these two *Cherubs* were ordered to be beaten out of one Piece of Gold, hereby, say they, *the Unity of the Antitype was represented in this Emblem of the Essence*. And, “by the Description of their “Faces being one to another, or according to the “*Hebrew*, each Person (typically Person) towards his “*Brother*, the Plurality and Equality of the Persons “in the Divine Essence is clearly set forth [6].” Where the Word *Person* is artfully inserted, for the sake of that notable Remark (*typically Person*) though in the original *Hebrew* it is only each *Man* [7].

But, my Lord, this shews us the Danger of having a *Shipwreck made of our Faith*, when Men quit common Sense to go in Quest of fanciful Allusions, and

[2] *Glory and Gravity*, p. 190.

[3] *Credat Judæus apella.* HOR.

[4] *Elibu*, in the Preface.

[5] *Glory and Gravity*,

p. 120, &c.

[6] *Elibu* in the Preface, and Hutch. *Glory and Gravity*, p. 118.

[7] Heb. שְׁנֵי.

Allegories, and typical Representations ; and attempt to build Articles of Christian Faith, not on *the sure Word of Prophecy*, and the literal Accomplishment of the *verbal Predictions* of Christ, which Mr. *Hutchinson* [8] declares against, but on the delusive Sallies of a wild Imagination. Can such Authors expect to make Converts of any Man of common Understanding? Or ought they not rather to dread making themselves, and the Christian Religion a Subject for the Merriment and Ridicule of Scoffers and Libertines?

As to those Angels, which are called *Seraphim* or *Seraphs*, the Reason of this Appellation is not certainly known ; but it is supposed to be on Account of the lucid and shining Appearance of their Countenance, as the Word *Seraph* in *Hebrew* signifies *to burn*. But the Form which they were pleased to assume, when they rendered themselves visible to human Eyes, is no where described, further than their having each *six Wings*, *with twain of which he covered his Face, and with twain he covered his Feet, and with twain he did fly* [9]. And whereas the *Cherubs*, in the Vision of *Ezekiel*, had only four Wings each, and are represented as being *under* the Throne of the God of *Israel* ; the *Seraphs*, in the Vision of *Isaiab*, are described as being *above* it, and singing Praises to the most holy Name.

All these, however, whether *Archangels*, or *Cherubim*, or *Seraphim*, or common *Angels*, being, as the Apostle *Peter* observeth, *greater in Power and Might than we* [1], or, as the Psalmist wordeth it, *who excel in Strength* [2], are superior to the Laws of our Nature ; and therefore can, with the Permission of God, render themselves either visible, or invisible to us at Will. And in accommodating themselves to our

[8] Hutch. Cov. of the Cher. p. 207.

[9] Isai. vi. 2, 3.

[1] 2 Pet. ii. 11.

[2] Psal. ciii. 20.

Senses, can assume what Form or Figure they please ; either of a Man, or a Beast, or a Bird, or can put on the visible Appearance of a Cloud, or of Fire, or of a Chariot, &c. And can make themselves understood by us, either *outwardly* by the Sound of a Voice impressed on our Ears, which is uttered by them with equal Ease, from the dumb Cloud [3], and insensible Fire [4], as out of the Mouth of a Serpent [5], or an Ass [6], or a Man [7]. Or else these Angels can make themselves understood by us, by an *inward* Inspiration, and Impression of Ideas on our Mind, which may produce Visions by Day, or Dreams by Night [8].

Which giveth an easy Solution to that Difficulty first started by *Julian* the Apostate, but lately revived by Mr. *Voltaire*, as I before observed [9], when he saith, “ Can Reason explain how the Serpent spoke “ in Days of old ? And how *Balaam’s* Ass spoke to “ his Master ? ” Since it was neither the Serpent, nor the Ass, which spoke ; but an Angel which spoke out of their Mouths, by the same Power, that he could have made the same Sounds without their Assistance, if he had pleased.

So that there seems to be no Difficulty in supposing the Sound of certain Words to have seemingly issued out of the Mouth of the Serpent or the Ass, any more than there is in supposing the same Sounds to have been made in the open Air, by some invisible Power ; which, though miraculous, is acknowledged to have sometimes happened both by sacred and prophane Writers. For, of this Kind there are many Instances in the holy Scriptures ; as for Example, when the Law was delivered to *Moses*, and when our Saviour at his Baptism and Transfiguration was de-

[3] Exod. xxiv. 16.

[4] Exod. iii. 4.

[5] Gen. iii

1. [6] Numb. xxii. 28.

[7] Gen. xxviii 2. 9. Acts ii. 17.

[8] Jude ii. 28.

[9] See Part II. Let. III. p. 257.

clared to be the *beloved* Son of God [1]. And in prophane Writers, the *Deus Ajus* of the *Romans* mentioned by *Aulus Gellius* [2], was of this Kind. And according to *Cicero* [3], it was a Voice from Heaven that warned the *Romans* of the coming of the *Gauls*, to which they built a Temple under the Title of *Ajus Locutius*. And therefore there is no more Absurdity in supposing that the Voice, which spoke to *Balaam*, seemingly proceeded out of the Mouth of an *Ass*, than that which alarmed the *Roman* Soldiers should proceed out of the Mouth of a Goose.

But the most remarkable Instance of this Kind that is in prophane History, is the Story which is related with so much Seriousness, and is so well attested, by *Plutarch* in his Treatise on the *Decay of Oracles*; where he says, that one *Thamnus* an *Egyptian*, as he was sailing towards *Italy*, in his Passage near the *Echinades*, heard a Voice from the Island of *Paxos*, which called aloud to him by Name; and charged him, when he came over against *Palodes*, to say, that *Pan the great was dead*. Upon which a Debate arose among the Passengers, about what was proper to be done; whereupon *Thamnus*, who was Master of the Vessel, determined, if, when he came to *Palodes*, he had a good Wind, he would continue his Course, and take no Notice of the Voice; but if he should be becalmed, he would then do as he was ordered. Accordingly on his coming over against that Island, the Wind having ceased, and the Sea being exceeding calm, *Thamnus* standing on the Stern of the Ship, and turning himself towards the Land, said aloud, that *Pan the great was dead*; upon which there was a violent Groan heard immediately, such as might proceed not from the Lamentation of one Person, but of a Multitude. And what is remarkable is, that this Voice both Times that it issued, was not heard only

[1] Matt. iii. 17. xvii. 5.

[2] Aul. Gel. l. xvi. c. 17.

[3] Cic. de Divin. l. ii.

by *Thamnus*, but by the whole Company that were in the Ship, Passengers as well as Sailors. *Plutarch* indeed mentions, that they were all terrified at the Event; which is the only Difference of any Consequence between this Transaction of *Thamnus*, and the aforementioned one of *Balaam*, who is not represented as being terrified or startled in the least, but on the contrary as entering into a regular Conversation with the As; which, I own, seems very unnatural, did we not consider that *Thamnus* and his Company were not accustomed to hear Voices of this Kind; whereas *Balaam* was on the other Hand well accustomed to hear supernatural and miraculous Voices; for before he set out he is represented as having had several Conversations with *God* upon the Subject of this Journey [4], that is, with an Angel who was sent to him from *God*, the last of which Conversations is said to have been at *Night*, so that he then probably heard the Voice without so much as seeing the Person that spoke to him; and yet he is not even then represented as being surprized. And as his Fame as a Prophet had spread as far as the Land of *Moab*, the Probability is, that his Correspondence with supernatural Agents had been pretty frequent, and therefore he was the less astonished at hearing this miraculous Voice. Dr. *Fortin* indeed supposes this whole Transaction, between *Balaam* and his As, to have passed in a Vision only; but as this Affair is represented not as happening before *Balaam* was set out, but when he and his Servants were upon the Road together, I do not think there is any Need for having Recourse to such an Apology.

As to evil Angels, they also are known by various Denominations, such as *Devils*, and *unclean Spirits*, &c. and have also their different Ranks, and Degrees of Power, and Pre-eminence among themselves. The chief of which is, by Way of Eminence, called

[4] Numb. xxii. 9. 12. 20.

the

the Devil [5], that is, the *Calumniator*, or *Accuser*; and *Satan* [6], or the *Adversary*. He is also called the *Dragon* [7], or, which is the same Thing, *the old Serpent which deceiveth the World* [8]; because it was in that Shape that he deceived our first Parent *Eve*. He is also called *Beelzebub* [9], which signifies the *Fly-God*, or the *Lord of Flies*, probably for the same Reason that he is called *the Prince of the Power of the Air* [1]; because He and his Angels are supposed to inhabit the Air, and to be perpetually hovering about like Flies seeking whom they may devour.

Lactantius, one of the Fathers of the third Century, who was so eminent for his Learning, that he was made Preceptor by the Emperor *Constantine* to his Son *Crispus Cæsar*, when speaking on this Subject, saith, that “ GOD the Creator and Maker of all
 “ Things, before he began the excellent Work of
 “ the Formation of this World, begat the holy and
 “ incorruptible Spirit, which he called his Son.
 “ And appointed him to preside over the whole
 “ Work; and made Use of him both as a Coun-
 “ sellor, and Operator, in contriving, adorning, and
 “ executing it.—And although He afterwards creat-
 “ ed innumerable other Spirits, whom we call An-
 “ gels; yet he did alone honour this his First-born,
 “ in whom was the Fullness of his paternal Power
 “ and Majesty, with the Appellation of that *Divine*
 “ Name. Then he made another Spirit, in whom
 “ the good Disposition of his divine Original did
 “ not long remain: But being infected with Envy
 “ as with Poison, he soon changed from Good to
 “ Evil; and by his own free Will, which GOD gave
 “ him Liberty to make Use of, he acquired a con-
 “ trary Name. Whence it is apparent, that Envy
 “ is the Root of all Evil. For he envied his Ante-

[5] Matt. iv. 5.

[6] 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

[7] Rev. xii.

3. 9.

[8] Rev. xx. 2. xii. 9.

[9] Matt. xii. 24.

[1] Eph. ii. 2.

“cessor, who was approved of, and beloved by God
 “the Father, because he adhered to him. Where-
 “fore, the *Greeks* call this Spirit, who from good
 “became evil, *Διάβολον*; but we call him the *Ac-*
 “*cuser*, because he carrieth an Account to God of
 “those Evils, which he enticeth Men to com-
 “mit [2].”

It is undoubtedly for wise Purposes, although by us not thoroughly assignable at present, that the God of infinite Power, and infinite Wisdom, permits these wicked Spirits, as he doth us Men, to act in Contradiction to the Laws which he hath assigned them. And that he doth not *execute his Sentence speedily* on every Offence committed either by *Men* or *Angels*. Since it is manifest, that the same Almighty Power, which spoke them into Existence, could *with one rough Word*, annihilate their Being. And indeed in general we cannot be too cautious how we pronounce any thing peremptorily, or positively, concerning the unrevealed Determinations of God's Will. Sure we are, or ought to be, that *whatever is, is right*. And that if we cannot vindicate the Wisdom, and Justice of God in the Administration of the Government of this World in every particular Instance at present, this must arise, not from any Error in the Things themselves, but from the Imbecillity and Imperfection of our own Understandings. And therefore we are not in the present Case to measure the Wisdom, or Justice of God, by the shallow Determinations of human Justice; or to consider what we call *the Wrath of God*, as the Effect of a sudden Passion of Anger, or Resentment, but as a calm, sedate, and steady Principle, which *standeth like the strong Mountains, and his Judgments as the great Deep*. For which Reason God may bear with the Disobedience of his sinful Creatures, whether Men or Angels, for a long Space, as a Trial of their Conduct, and in Order to

[2] Lacl. l. ii. § 8. l. iv. § 6.

allow

allow them Time sufficient for their Repentance; and may respite their Punishment to the most fit and convenient Season.

I should now proceed to shew your Lordship what was the Consequence and Effect of the aforementioned Contests between the good and bad Angels, and in particular between those two great Beings *Michael* and *Satan*; but as I apprehend you will now be glad of some Relaxation, I shall defer what I have to say upon that Subject till I do myself the Honour of writing next to your Lordship, who am,

Your Lordship's, &c.

LETTER VII.

MY LORD,

IN my last Letter I propos'd, when I next did myself the Honour of writing to you, to consider what was the Consequence of those Disputes and Quarrels, which are mentioned as being between the good and bad Angels, and in particular between those two great Beings, *Michael* and *Satan*.

And first I must beg Leave to remind your Lordship, that the Angel *Gabriel*, when he came to instruct *Daniel* in the Scriptures of Truth, inform'd him, that he had been oppos'd by the Prince, or Archangel, of *Persia*, until *Michael*, one of the chief Princes, or Archangels, came to help him; that he would return to fight with the Archangel of *Persia*; that when he was gone, the Archangel of *Græcia* would come; and that none held with him in these Things but *Michael* the great Archangel, who standeth

eth for the Children of *Israel*. And, as it appeared that GOD was pleased to dispose of the Government of the several Nations of this World to Archangels, and other inferior Angels, in Subordination to them; and that none of these Archangels but two, *viz. Michael* and *Gabriel* held together in the due Execution of their Charge; hence it is manifest, that the rest of the Angels, and Archangels, who had been entrusted with the Guardianship of the several Kingdoms of this World, had suffered themselves to be corrupted by *Satan*, and had gone over to his Party. And hence it appears also, that the Direction of the Conduct of Mankind was the Cause and Subject of these Contentions, and of the Disputes and Quarrels between these angelical Beings. And that while *Michael* and *Gabriel* were endeavouring to preserve Mankind in their Duty and Obedience to GOD, according to the Scriptures of Truth, *Satan* and his Angels, out of Envy, as *Lactantius* thinks, to his Antecessor the Son of GOD, was endeavouring to seduce them into Idolatry, and the Worship of false Gods.

Let us now therefore try if we can find out what was the Procedure, and Event, of this Contest. To discover which, we must entirely have Recourse to Revelation, which is our only Guide in such an Affair as this. And if we consult the *Revelations* of St. *John*, we shall there find it said, that *there was a War in Heaven. MICHAEL and his Angels fought against the DRAGON; and the DRAGON fought and his Angels, and prevailed not, neither was their Place found any more in Heaven, And the great DRAGON was cast out, that old Serpent called the DEVIL and SATAN, which deceiveth the whole World. He was cast out into the Earth, and his Angels were cast out with him.— And they overcame him by THE BLOOD OF THE LAMB, and the Word of their Testimony; and they loved not their Lives unto Death [3].*

[3] Rev. xii. 1, &c.

It may therefore not be improper to enquire what is meant by this *Blood of the Lamb*, which was so useful in obtaining a Victory of so much Consequence. And this upon Enquiry we shall find to be the Blood of the *Messiah*, or *Christ*, who is metaphorically styled *the Lamb of God* [4]; because, when he is spoken of by the Prophet *Isaiah*, as suffering Afflictions here on Earth for the Redemption of Mankind, he is compared to a Lamb, on Account of its Innocence and Meekness in suffering Death; and of whom the Paschal Lamb among the *Israelites*, of which no one Bone was to be broken, was also the Type and the Emblem [5].

Now, upon Examination into the Scriptures, it will appear, that this *Messiah*, or *Christ*, was the same Person with the great Archangel *Michael*, who was the Guardian Angel of *Israel*. For this St. *Paul* plainly assures us of, when speaking of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness of *Sinai*, he saith, *For they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ* [6]. He also observes, that by their Misconduct in the Wilderness, *They tempted CHRIST, and were therefore destroyed of Serpents* [7]. And in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, he attributes the Perseverance of *Moses* in quitting *Pharaoh's* Court, and refusing to be called the Son of *Pharaoh's* Daughter, to his esteeming *the Reproach of Christ*, that is, the Reproach of the *Egyptians* for *Christ's* Sake, *greater Riches than the Treasures of Egypt* [8]. Which Term of *Messiah*, or *Christ*, as I before observed to your Lordship, literally signifies *the anointed*, because, as the Apostle expresseth it, *He was anointed of God to do whatsoever his Hand, or his Counsel, determined before to be done* [9]. That is, he was anointed, or

[4] John i. 29, 30. Acts viii. 32. Isa. liii. 7. [5] John xix. 36. [6] 1 Cor. x. 4. [7] 1 Cor. x. 9. [8] Heb. xi. 26. Essay on Spirit, § 95.

[9] Acts iv. 27, 28. This Passage in the Original runs thus :
appointed

appointed of God, to do and to suffer for the Redemption of Mankind, whatsoever it should please God to require of him to do or to suffer, as a Trial of his Obedience to God, and his Love to Mankind. And hence it is that *Christ* is called *the Lamb slain from the Foundation of the World* [1]. And the Scheme of the Redemption of Mankind through the Sufferings of *Christ*, is said to be *the ETERNAL Purpose which God purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord* [2]; because it was agreed to and *promised before the World began* [3].

There is a traditionary Piece of Rabinical Learning quoted out of the *Talmud*, by Mr. *Hutchinson*, in his Treatise on *the Covenant of the Cherubim*, p. 255, 307, &c. and which he seems very fond of, as being a Proof of the Covenant entered into between God and his *Christ*, before the World began, for the Redemption of Mankind, so that, I think, I may safely quote it at present. Which is to this Effect; “ That on
“ a Day when the Sons of God came to present
“ themselves before the Lord, *Satan* came also among
“ them, and having espied a Light under the Throne

For of a Truth against thy holy Child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the People of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy Hand and thy Counsel determined before to be done. Which last Sentence hath by some Interpreters, and in particular by Dr. *Randolph*, been understood to refer to *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*, &c. because it immediately follows after mentioning them. But as this would be downright Predestination; it seemeth more consistent with the general Tenor of the Scriptures to read these Words, *both Herod and Pontius Pilate*, &c. as in a *Parenthesis*; and then the whole Passage will run thus: For of a Truth against thy holy Child *Jesus*, whom thou hast anointed for to do whatsoever thy Hand and thy Counsel determined before to be done, *both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the People of Israel* were gathered together. In Support of which Method of Interpretation, a Multitude of parallel Passages might be produced.

[1] Rev. xiii. 8. [2] Eph. iii. 11. [3] Tit. i. 2. See also 1 Cor. ii. 7. Gal. iii. 17. 2 Tim. i. 9. Eph. i. 4. Tit. i. 2. 1 Pet. i. 20. Rom. xvi. 25. Eph. iii. 9. Col. i. 16.

“ of

“ of GOD, he asked the Lord what was that Light ?
 “ and being told it was the Light of the *Messiah* and
 “ his Generation, *Satan* said to the Lord, Permit me
 “ and I will strive with him. And the Lord called
 “ the *Messiah*, and asked him whether he was willing
 “ to abide the Conflict, in which he would certainly
 “ meet with a great deal of Pain and Trouble ? And
 “ the *Messiah* said, I will ; provided I may have these
 “ People for my own. To which God having con-
 “ sented, the *Messiah* also agreed thereto [4].” That
 is, the *Messiah* upon Condition of having the Gene-
 ration of Mankind for his own, consented, or, as St.
Paul expresseth it, *was anointed*, to do whatsoever the
 Hand, and Counsel of GOD should determine before
 to be done.

Which Piece of Traditionary History hath un-
 doubtedly taken its Rise from the rabinical Interpre-
 tation of the Curse denounced against the Serpent in
Gen. iii. 15. Part of which was by the *Jews* under-
 stood, as referring to the *Messiah*, under the Cha-
 racter of *the Seed of the Woman*. When therefore
Moses says that GOD, when speaking to the Serpent
 saith, *I will put Enmity between thee and the Woman,*
and between thy Seed and her Seed ; it (that is, the Seed
 of the Woman) *shall bruise thy Head, and thou shalt*
bruise his Heel ; the remaining Part could not well be
 interpreted but as spoken to the *Devil* under the Figure
 and Character of a Serpent, in which Form he had
 deluded our first Parents. For, as it is manifest that
 by those Words, there was Enmity plainly denounced
 between *the Seed of the Woman*, and the *Serpent* ;
 and as the Seed of the Woman was understood to re-
 fer to the *Messiah* ; so would it be ridiculous to sup-
 pose that this Contest was to happen between the
Messiah and a literal *Serpent*. This Curse must there-
 fore have been understood, as being denounced against
Satan ; by which, though the Victory is declared and

[4] *R. Moses Hadarsan on Gen. i. 3.*

foretold to come to pass in Favour of *the Seed of the Woman*, by *bruising the Head* of the Serpent, that is, totally overcoming him at last; yet this Victory was not to be obtained without some Danger and Difficulty on the Side of *the Seed of the Woman*, who was to get *a Bite in the Heel*, by doing and suffering whatsoever it should please the Hand and Counsel of God to appoint for him to do and to suffer.

Now the Things, which it is manifest from the Scriptures, were predetermined for the *Messiah* to do, and to suffer, for the Redemption of Mankind, were; that he should come down from Heaven, to take human Nature upon himself, and be made Man, and then to undergo such Trials and Afflictions as *Satan*, and his Angels, were permitted to inflict upon him. And we cannot but suppose that the Trial would be severe, the overcoming of which was to be crowned with so much *Glory* and *Honour* [5].

And indeed the first Step which was taken towards this End, as revealed to us in the Scriptures, seemeth to have been a grievous one. Which was no less, than for the *Messiah*, who was *in the Form of God*, to empty [6] or divest himself of *that Glory*, which he had with the Father before the World was [7], to descend from Heaven, to take upon himself the *Form of a Servant*, and be made in the *Likeness of Men*. And therefore, *in the Fulness of Time*, saith the Apostle, *God sent forth his beloved Son to be made of a Woman* [8]; that is, to take human Nature upon him. And accordingly this exalted Spirit was, by the wonderful Power of God, as before related, conveyed into the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, and was made Man; that is, was made as much so, as his Mother could make him, without being impregnated by Man. And now being deprived of the immediate Presence

[5] Heb. ii. 9.

[6] Phil. ii. 6, 7.

[7] John xviii. 5.

[8] Gal. iv. 4.

of GOD the Father, and being shut up in Darkness and the Shadow of Death; he was, after nine Months, brought forth into Life, in the Form of a feeble Infant, with all the Weakness, and Frailties, and Infirmities of human Nature about him. And as he grew up into Life, and his Reason improved, this only served to make the terrible Change, and Alteration, of his Condition so much the more perceptible, and the Recollection of it so much the more grievous and insufferable. The Dreadfulness of which State is hardly conceivable to us, because that we were never sensible of any thing better than our present Existence. But for any Being, which had ever enjoyed the Happiness of Heaven, and had been in Possession of *Glory with the Father*, to be deprived thereof, and to be sent to dwell here in this World, encompassed within the narrow Limits of this earthly Tabernacle, and the heavy Organs made of Flesh and Blood, it must, literally speaking, be to such a Being, an Hell upon Earth.

And when we add thereto, that this divine Spirit was thereby so far abased, as to be rendered liable to the Insults of *Satan*, and was *in all Points tempted like as we are, Sin only excepted* [9], how must this encrease his Vexation, and Uneasiness? Accordingly we read, that as soon as ever *Jesus* was baptised, and had entered on his Ministry [1], *Satan*, having transformed himself into an *Angel of Light* [2], appeared unto this Son of Man, who was called *Jesus*, and coming to him in the Wilderness, where he had fasted forty Days and forty Nights without eating any thing but such Provisions as the Wilderness afforded, and being *an hungered*, the Tempter applied himself to his bodily Appetites, and said, *If thou be the Son of God, command that these Stones be made Bread.* But he answered him and said, *It is written, Man shall not live by Bread*

[9] Heb. iv. 15.

[1] Luke iv. 1, 2.

[2] 2 Cor xi. 14.

alone, but by every Word that proceedeth out of the Mouth of God. When therefore this would not do, then the Devil applied to his Passion of Pride, and *taketh him up into the holy City, and setteth him on a Pinnacle of the Temple, and saith unto him, If thou be the Son of God cast thyself down; for it is written, He shall give his Angels Charge over thee, and in their Hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any Time thou dash thy Foot against a Stone. But Jesus saith unto him, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.* Hitherto the Devil had quoted Texts of Scripture; but when even this would not prevail on Jesus to do an improper Thing, and to tempt the Lord his God; then the Devil applies to his more carnal Passions of Covetousness and Ambition, and having carried him to an exceeding high Mountain, *shewed unto him all the Kingdoms of the World in a Moment of Time; and said unto him, All this Power will I give thee, and the Glory of them; for that is given unto me, and to whomsoever I will, I give it: if thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine. Then saith Jesus unto him, who had now discovered him by the Wickedness of the Proposal, Get thee behind me, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve* [3]. Then the Devil departed from him for a Season; and Angels came and ministered unto him.

And now, my Lord, let any one judge whether this Temptation of Jesus in the Wilderness, looks as if Satan thought the divine Spirit that was intimately united to the Humanity of Jesus, was that of the supreme God? And can any one think that a Being endowed with so much Power, as Satan manifestly was, did not know whether Jesus was the supreme God, or not? And though Satan was perfectly acquainted with the exalted Nature of the Spirit of Jesus in its original Condition, when he had Glory with the Father before the World was; and must have known

[3] Matt. iv. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Luke iv. 1, &c.

that these Temptations, now thrown in his Way, must, to such a Being in his original State, be idle and trifling; yet being also sensible of the great Alteration, which the Incarnation of that Spirit in human Organs must make in it, he was willing to try how far those Temptations, to which human Nature are liable, would operate on the Spirit of *Jesus*, thus encumbered and depressed with the irksome Load of Flesh and Blood. Whereas, if the divine Spirit, which was intimately united with the Humanity of *Jesus*, had been that of the supreme God, which is incapable of Alteration, or Abatement, or Depression, such an Attempt would not only have been foolish and absurd in so intelligent a Being as *Satan*, but even in one much less knowing than *Satan* himself.

However, having made the Experiment, and being foiled in the Attempt, *He departed from him for a Season*; that is, He departed from him for a Season, and but for a Season; as it is not to be supposed that so powerful a Being as *Satan*, would so easily yield up the Victory. He therefore departed from him, until towards the Time of his Death, when he apprehended that he might attack him to greater Advantage. At which Time, *Jesus* foreseeing that *the Prince of this World was coming* [4], armed with Power, by the Permission of God, to put his Virtue to the Trial, *began to be sorrowful and very heavy, and said unto his Disciples, My Soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto Death.* And he retired by himself to pray to God to *save him from this Hour*, and that, *if possible, this Cup of his Afflictions might pass from him.* And he went a second and a third Time, *and being in an Agony, he prayed more earnestly; and his Sweat was as it were great Drops of Blood falling to the Ground* [5].

Here then we poor Mortals are at a Stand, being at a Loss to know, how it is possible for one Spirit so

[4] John xiv. 30.

[5] Matt. xxvi. 33. Mark xiv. 36.

Luke xxii. 42. John xii. 27.

to torment another, as to put *Jesus* into such an *Agony* as is above described, from the very Apprehensions of what he was to undergo. If he was to suffer Nothing, but what is written concerning his Scoffs, and Scourgings, and Crucifixion, and, we may add, all the Sufferings, and Tortures which his human Nature could possibly undergo; these surely could never have moved him in so high a Degree; being only such Sufferings, as several of the Prophets of old underwent, not only without Dread, but with Pleasure in their Countenance. *Who*, as the Apostle expresseth it, *had Trial of cruel Mockings, and Scourgings, yea, moreover, of Bonds and Imprisonment; were flogged, were sawn asunder, were slayed with the Sword, and were tortured, not accepting Deliverance* [6].

Whoever therefore can suppose *Jesus* to have been terrified at these Things, which could only affect his human Part, must suppose him to be less than Man. Whereas, if we suppose *Satan* let loose upon him, by the Permission of God, and impowered to attack him in his nobler Part, in his angelic Nature, while his divine Spirit, being encumbered with the Load of Flesh and Blood, and fettered, and confined within the narrow Compass of an human Tabernacle, *was* disabled from exerting its full Powers; well might he dread the Conflict on such unequal Terms.

And if Nothing is described to us in the Scriptures, but his Sufferings in the Flesh, this we ought to conclude was done in Condescension to our Understandings, which are unable to comprehend, or have any Notion of his inward Sufferings. And for the same Reason it was, that any outward Sufferings were inflicted on him at all; which being in their own Nature insignificant, and trifling, could not possibly be any Trial of his Obedience. But were inflicted on him by God *for us*, and *for our Sake*: Who, in Compassion to our Ignorance and Infirmities, was pleased to ap-

[6] Heb. xi. 35, 36.

point some of his Sufferings to be such as were within the Reach of our Capacities to comprehend.

And therefore, when he was betrayed, and seized by the Officers that were sent to apprehend him, our Saviour said unto them, *This is your Hour, and the Power of Darknes*. Giving them thereby to understand, and us through them, that it was not only *the Hour* of Men's Wrath, but *the Hour of the Power of Darknes*, that he so much dreaded, when he prayed to God the Father to *save him from that Hour*. At which Time he had not only the Contradiction of wicked Men to strive with, but knew that this was the Time allotted by God for *Satan*, the Prince of Darknes, to exercise, and employ, his whole Power in afflicting him. We need not wonder therefore, that, being deprived of the Comfort of God's immediate Presence, and being left to himself to abide all *the Buffetings of Satan*, with the Incumbrance and Feelings of Flesh and Blood about him, when tortured on a Cross, he broke out into that melancholy and seemingly desponding Complaint, *My God, my God! why hast thou forsaken me?* For we may be sure that this malevolent Fiend would muster up all his Forces, and exert all his Strength upon this Occasion; and would leave no Torment untried, which the utmost Malice, and Abilities, of so potent a Being could suggest, in Order to make the *Messiah* swerve from his Duty; when it was not a single Soul, but the Redemption of Mankind, and the whole Interest of Hell that was at Stake.

All which *Jesus* having endured with a divine Fortitude, and having persisted in his Duty to the last, *Satan* was thereby disappointed, and overcome by the *Blood of this Lamb*; who suffering all that was inflicted upon him, and all that was determined before for him to do, or to suffer, with Meekness and Resignation; was obedient unto Death, that through Death

he might destroy him that had Power of Death, that is, the Devil [7].

And having by his Death overcome Death, and put off Mortality, He, upon his Resurrection from the Grave, and his Ascension into Heaven, was attended by a Cloud of Angels, and led Captivity Captive [8]; that is, he led those Angels as Captives in his Triumph, who had before led others into Captivity. And having spoiled these Principalities and Powers of their Authority, he made a Shew of them openly; triumphing over them by himself: That is, by Virtue of his own Sufferings. For which, having all Power given unto him in this Heaven and this Earth [9], over all Beings thereunto belonging, whether Men or Angels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, or Powers; He was highly exalted, and had a Name given him which is above every Name; that at the Name of Jesus every Knee should bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things on Earth, and Things under the Earth; and that every Tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is LORD to the Glory of God the Father [1]. And being thus exalted [2] as a Reward of his Conduct, he was then seated at the Right-hand of God, Angels, and Authorities, and Powers being made subject unto him [3]. Well therefore, according to the Revelation of St. John, might the Angels and the Elders say, with a loud Voice, *Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive Power, and Riches, and Wisdom, and Strength, and Honour, and Glory, and Blessing.* And well might every Creature, which is in Heaven, and in the Earth, and under the Earth, and such as are in the Sea, and all that are in them, say, *Blessing, and Honour, and Glory, and Power, be unto him that sitteth on the Throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever* [4]. Where, it is to be observed, that there is a Distinction made between God who sitteth

[7] Phil. ii. 8. Heb. ii. 14.

[9] Matt. xxviii. 18. John xvii. 2.

[2] Acts ii. 33. [3] 1 Pet. iii. 22.

[8] Psal. lxxviii. 18.

[1] Phil. ii. 9.

[4] Rev. v. 11.

upon the Throne, and the Lamb, which was seated only at the Right-hand of God, or as St. Paul expresseth it, in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, *who was set down at the Right-hand of the Throne of God* [5].

And indeed I think it impossible to answer the Objections of the *Socinians* against the Sufferings of *Christ*, if the Spirit of God the Father, and the Spirit of God the Son, be supposed to be one and the same Substance, or Spirit: For, how is it possible, upon that Supposition, for *Christ* to have suffered, unless God the Father suffered along with him? Which, according to *Athanasius*, would be manifest *Sabelianism* [6]; since it is a plain Contradiction in Terms, to assert, that one and the same undivided Substance can, at the same Time, suffer and not suffer. And again, if *Christ* be supposed only to have suffered in his human Nature, where would be the Infinity of the Merit, or the Adequateness of the Satisfaction, according to the vulgar Phrase, if he suffered no more than any Man might have done? Or how would the Scriptures have been fulfilled; which declare so positively, that it was *Christ* who suffered for us? For thus the Apostle *Peter* says expressly, *I hat those Things which God before had shewed by the Mouth of all his Prophets, that CHRIST SHOULD SUFFER, he hath so fulfilled* [7]. And, as I before observed on another Occasion, since the *Athanasian Creed* declares, that *although he be God and Man, yet he is not two, but one Christ*, and that, *as the reasonable Soul and Flesh is one Man, so God and Man is one Christ*; if he suffered only in his human Nature, then it was not *Christ*, but only the Man *Jesus* who suffered for us [8].

[5] Heb. ii. 12. [6] Athan. Tom. i. p. 740. [7] Acts iii. 18. See also Luke xxiv. 46, &c. &c. &c.

[8] See also the 2d of the 39 Articles, which saith, the Godhead and Manhood were joined together in one Person never to be divided, whereof is one *Christ*.

Nor, supposing the Son to be a real and distinct Person from the Father, do I see how it can be reconciled with the Justice of God, to permit any one innocent Person, even at his own Request, to suffer instead of a wicked one, unless it be as a Trial of his Obedience, for the Performance of which he should afterwards be rewarded. Whereas, if the Glory, which *Christ* had with the Father before the World was, was equal to the Glory of the Father, how was it possible for him after his Sufferings to be, upon his Ascension, either rewarded or *exalted*? Whereas, St. *Peter* declares, that he was, *by being placed at the Right-hand of God, exalted* [9]. And if we consider wherein this *Exaltation* of *Christ* did consist, we shall find, that it was not in being raised to be equal with God the Father, or to sit even in the Throne along with him, but only in being *set on the Right-hand of the Throne of the Majesty in the Heavens* [1].

In short, with Regard to the History of our Redemption through *Jesus Christ* our Lord, the Scriptures are very plain and very positive in asserting, that God the Father sent *Jesus the Christ*, or the *anointed*, into the World to save Sinners [2], and to be a *Propitiation* for them [3].

That upon this Account in the Fulness of Time, He descended from Heaven, and was made Man, and went through a State of Humiliation and Sufferings here on Earth [4].

That he was faithful to him that appointed him [5].

[9] Acts ii. 33.

[1] Heb. viii. 1. xii. 2.

[2] 1 Tim. i. 15. Luke xix. 10. 1 John iii. 5.

[3] 1 John ii. 4. 10, 11. Rom. iii. 25. Heb. ii. 17.

[4] Isai. liii. 1, per totum. Eph. iv. 10. Phil. ii. 7, 8. Matt. xvi. 21. xvii. 12. Mark viii. 31. ix. 12. Luke ix. 22. xvii. 25. xxiv. 46. Acts iii. 18. xvii. 3. xxvi. 2, 3. Heb. xiii. 12. 1 Pet. iii. 18.

[5] Heb. iii. 2.

That he redeemed us [6].

That he bought us to God with a Price [7].

That he gave himself for us and our Sins an Offering and Sacrifice unto God [8].

And that as a Reward for all his Sufferings, he obtained a Kingdom for himself [9], and Glory for us [1].

The Texts here referred to are plain Texts of Scripture, the literal Meaning of which are, I think, uncontroverted. But we do not read one Word about the *Satisfaction* of *Christ*; and therefore I could wish that Expression was more sparingly made Use of; because it is not only unscriptural, but also because the Doctrine commonly inculcated by it, seems to me to be erroneous, viz. That God could not forgive the Trespasses committed against himself, and to remit the Penalty, if he pleased, without any other Satisfaction, but that of his own good Will. For, as our Saviour saith in a similar Case, *Is it not lawful for him to do what he will with his own* [2]: But if a third Person interposeth as a *Mediator* in Behalf of the Offender, then the Terms of *Reconciliation* must be in the Breast of the offended Person; and which, when agreed to and fulfilled, may, by an easy Metaphor, be called an *Atonement* [3], a *Propitiation* [4], a Ransom [5], a Price [6], a Purchase [7], or a Redemption [8].

[6] Rom. iii. 24. Eph. i. 7. Col. i. 13, 14. Heb. ix. 11. Gal. iii. 13. 1 Pet. i. 14.

[7] Rev. v. 9. 1 Cor. vi. 20. vii. 23.

[8] Eph. v. 2. Gal. i. 4. ii. 20. Heb. ix. 26. x. 12.

[9] Luke xxii. 29. John v. 27. 2 Tim. iv. 1. Phil. ii. 9, 10. 11. Heb. ii. 9. xii. 1.

[1] Luke xxii. 29. 2 Thess. ii. 14. 2 Tim. ii. 10. iv. 8. 1 Pet. v. 10. Rev. ii. 7. 17. xxi. 6.

[2] Matt. xx. 15. [3] Rom. v. 11. [4] 1 John ii. 4, 10.

[5] Matt. xx. 28. Mark x. 45. 1 Tim. ii. 6.

[6] 1 Cor. vi. 20. vii. 23. [7] Acts xx. 28. 2 Pet. ii. 9.

[8] Eph. i. 7. Col. i. 14, &c. &c.

Which

Which Character of a *Mediator* and a *Redeemer*, is the Light in which *Christ* is represented by the Scriptures as having acted betwixt God and Mankind. For, says St. Paul, *there is one God, and one Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus* [9]. And therefore he also says, that *we are justified freely by the Grace of God, through the Redemption that is in Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth to be a Propitiation, through Faith in his Blood, to declare his Righteousness, for the Remission of Sins that are past, through the Forbearance of God* [1]. And hence it is that God the Father is also called our Saviour and Redeemer, as well as *Christ*; because that *Christ* was set forth by God as a *Propitiation* for us, and that it was of his free Grace, that the Terms of *Redemption* offered by *Christ* were accepted for the Remission of Sins, *through the Forbearance of God*.

But as Dr. Sykes, for whom I know your Lordship has a great Regard, though he acknowledgeth the Truth of what is here asserted, says, that “there is a great Difficulty in reconciling this with the moral Attributes of God [2];” I must beg Leave to be a little more explicit on this Head. I own that if he thought the Athanasian Doctrine was true, and that God and *Christ* could be supposed to be one and the same undivided Substance, or Being, there would be a great Difficulty in reconciling this Doctrine with the moral Attributes of God, and with common Sense: Because, I cannot form to myself any Notion of the same individual Intelligence being a Propitiation, or a Ransom, and a Mediator to himself.

However, as Dr. Sykes does not seem to approve of the Athanasian System, his Objection seems to arise from the overstrict Interpretation of the following Text, and some others to the same Purpose, together with the Consequences that have been falsely deduced

[9] 1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. viii. 6. ix. 15. xii. 24.

[1] Rom. iii. 25.

[2] Sykes on Redemption, p. 417.

from thence, viz. That God for *Christ's* Sake hath forgiven us [3]. As if God had no Love for Mankind, independent of the Merits of *Christ*; but that, since the Fall of *Adam*, they were all, even those who had never heard of the Name of *Jesus*, to be considered as Aliens and Strangers to God, and that even their good Works, which do not spring from Faith in *Jesus Christ*, bear the Nature of Sin [4].

Whereas, the Love of God towards Mankind, is represented in the other Parts of Scripture, as the Cause why God sent his Son to redeem Mankind. For, says St. Paul, *God so loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting Life* [5]. And again he saith, *In this was manifested the Love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the World, that we might live through him* [6].

It is indeed a partial Consideration of some Texts of Scripture, without comparing them with others, which is the general Cause of the great Variety of Opinions, that are formed on the Christian Doctrine. Whereas, if the whole Christian Scheme be taken into Consideration, we shall find, that it was neither for *Christ's* Sake alone, that God forgave Mankind; nor for the Sake of Mankind alone, that God sent his Son to redeem them: But it was for both together.

Had it been for the Sake of *Christ* alone that God forgave Mankind, then our sole Obligation would be to *Christ*, and God could not be said to have loved us: And if *Christ*, by his Sufferings, be supposed to have made an ample and adequate Satisfaction to God for the Sins of Men, then God could not be said to have forgiven us, or to have remitted any thing to us; or to have been gracious and merciful to us; any more than a Creditor can be said to be gracious and merci-

[3] Eph. iv. 32. 1 John ii. 12, &c. &c.

[4] See the 13th of the xxxix Articles.

[5] John iii. 6.

[6] 1 John iv. 9.

ful to his Debtor, who insists upon the full Value of his Debt being paid to him, either by his Debtor, or some Friend for him.

And that it could not be for the Sake of Mankind alone that God sent his Son to redeem us, appears from hence : Because, God might have forgiven us, if he pleased, without the Interposition or Sufferings of *Christ*; and then the Grace or Favour to us, and of Consequence our Obligation to him, would have been the greater. And no one Reason can be assigned why an innocent Person should be appointed to suffer Punishment instead of a guilty one, or should even at his own Request be permitted to suffer, if he is not to be some Way or other recompensed and benefited by it himself. For Punishment ought always to be the Attendant on Vice, but not on Virtue; whereas the Desire of undergoing Sufferings for another Person, as it must be the Effect of a benevolent Mind, so it is undoubtedly a Virtue; and it must of Consequence be inconsistent with Justice not only to punish, but even not to reward, such a virtuous Disposition of Mind.

If therefore God did permit an innocent Person to suffer instead of a guilty one, this must be for the Sake of the innocent Person, as well as of the guilty; that he might have an Opportunity, and just Grounds for rewarding the one, at the same Time that he forgave the other. And thus it was, that it pleased the Almighty to accept of the Mediation and Sufferings of *Christ*, not only out of Love to us, but also out of Regard to him; that God in his Justice might have a Foundation to reward him according to his Merit. And after this Manner it is, that this Affair is represented in the holy Scriptures. For, says our Saviour himself, *Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my Life* [7]. And St. Paul expressly declares, that it was *for the Suffering of Death*, that

[7] John x. 17.

Jesus

Jesus was crowned with Glory and Honour [8]. And again, in the same Epistle, he saith, that our Saviour endured the Cross, and despised the Shame, for the Joy that was set before him [9]. And in his Epistle to the Philippians, he assigneth the Sufferings of Christ for the Redemption of Mankind, as the very Cause of his Exaltation: For, says he, and being found in Fashion as a Man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto Death, even the Death of the Cross; WHEREFORE God also hath highly exalted him, &c. [1]. And St. Peter says accordingly, that the Prophets testified beforehand of the Sufferings of Christ, and the Glory that should follow [2]. And in his Epistle to the Hebrews, St. Paul applies Part of the 45th Psalm to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and says, *But unto the Son He (the Father) saith, Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever, a Sceptre of Righteousness is the Sceptre of thy Kingdom. Thou hast loved Righteousness, and hated Iniquity; wherefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the Oil of Gladness above thy Fellows* [3].

And here, my Lord, I cannot but observe, that if St. Paul had not applied the above Passage taken out of the Psalms, by Name to our Saviour as the Son of God, nobody since his Time would have dared to have done it. But the Genuineness of the Passage is undisputed; and the Authority of the Application is incontestable. Where, though *the Son* is called *God*, yet God the Father is as plainly said to be *his God*, and to have anointed him with the Oil of Gladness above his Fellows, *διὰ τῆς*, for this very Reason, *because he loved Righteousness and hated Iniquity*.

We may likewise learn from the Application of this Passage in the Psalms to our Saviour, that Texts of Scripture may have a double Sense affixed to them; one of which may be literal, while the other is only

[8] Heb. ii. 9.

[9] Heb. xii. 2.

[1] Phil. ii. 8, 9.

[2] 1 Pet. i. 11. Luke xxii. 24. See also Acts iii. 18.

[3] Heb. i. 8.

allegorical or typical. For this Psalm was without Doubt originally written as an *Epithalamium*, and was an Ode composed in Honour of the Marriage of some one of the Kings of *Israel*, where the Words intended by the Psalmist as a Compliment to the royal Bridegroom, are by St. *Paul* applied to the Son of God.

And now, my Lord, having thus far explained to you the History of the Fall and Redemption of Mankind, as revealed to us in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, give me Leave to remind you of the Greatness of the Obligations, which we lie under to this divine Being, who, although *in the Form of God*, and in Possession of *Glory with God the Father before the World was*, nevertheless divested himself of that Glory, and descended from Heaven, and took on him the Form of a Servant, and was made in the Likeness of Man, and became obedient unto Death, even the Death of the Cross, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity. And is now gone to prepare a Place for us, among the many Mansions in his Father's House, that where he is, there may we be also. Who shall change our vile Bodies, that they may be fashioned like unto his glorious Body; for although it doth not yet appear what we shall be, yet we know that when we shall appear we shall be like him. That as we have borne the Image of the earthly (*Adam*) so we may bear the Image of the heavenly. For we shall be conformed to the Image of the Son of God, that he may be the first among many Brethren [4].

What an Honour, and what a Happiness is this; To be made like unto the Son of God! and that, where he is, there shall we be also! Here is a Degree of Happiness promised to Mankind through the Merits of *Christ*, which is so much superior to any thing, that our own natural Merits could have claimed, or than Men could in Reason expect as a Reward for

[4] Phil. ii. 7, 8. Tit. ii. 14. John xiv. 2, 3. Phil. iii. 21. 1 Cor. xv. 49. 1 John iii. 2. Rom. viii. 29.

their good Deeds, were they never so great, that, had it not been revealed, never could have entered into the Heart of Man to conceive.

What that Happiness would have been, which Mankind would have enjoyed in their immortal State, had our first Parents continued long enough in their Innocency to have eaten of the Tree of Life, hath not been revealed; but enough hath been revealed to give us Reason to thank God, who alone can bring Good out of Evil, for the Transgression of our first Parents, by whose Fall we are exalted; and through *Christ*, to an *Inheritance* superior to that of *Paradise*: *God having provided better Things for us, that we may receive a Crown of Glory, incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in Heaven for us.*

Well therefore might the Apostle cry out in a Rapture, when speaking on this Subject, and say in the Words of the Psalmist, *What is Man, O Lord, that thou art mindful of him? or the Son of Man that thou so regardest him?* For although thou didst originally make him lower than the Angels, yet, through the Merits of Christ, thou hast crowned him with Glory and Honour superior to Multitudes of them.

And here, my Lord, let us make some few Reflexions on the Goodness of God, who, although he was pleased to suffer this World to be created in so imperfect a Manner, both with Regard to its natural and its moral State, as to stand in need of the *Deluge* to amend its natural Form; and of *the Sacrifice of the Son of God* to rectify its moral Constitution; hath in the End so disposed of these two seemingly untoward Events, as to make them turn out to the Benefit of Mankind [5].

Not that we are to imagine, that all they, who are to be Partakers of his heavenly Kingdom, will be equally happy; and all that are excluded out of it, equally miserable; for, as it hath pleased God to

[5] See Part II. p. 284.

form Mankind of very different Complexions and Constitutions, and hath left them to the Direction of their own Reason, and Free-will, in the indulging, or restraining of their Passions; so we find accordingly, that Men are exceeding different in their Inclinations and Pursuits, after Virtue and after Vice. And, hence it is, that Reason and Revelation both agree in declaring, that the same Principle of Justice, which hath determined Rewards and Punishments for good and bad Actions in the general, will make that just Distribution of them in a future State, that every Person shall meet with such Degrees of Pleasure or of Pain, as may in some Proportion be answerable to his particular Merit or Demerit: That *every one*, as the Scripture expresseth it, *shall receive his own Reward according to his own Labour* [6]. And, as our Saviour hath informed us, that the profitable Servant who had gained ten Talents, was made Ruler over ten Cities; and he that had gained five Talents was made Ruler over five Cities; so hath he likewise assured us, on the other Hand, that some Sinners *shall be beaten with few, and some with many Stripes*.

Nor must we with the *Romanists* imagine, that there can be any such Things as Works of *Supererogation*, which, when any holy Person hath done what is sufficient to conduct him into Heaven, and are therefore of no further Use to himself, may be applied by the Pope to the Service of other Persons. A Notion, which must have taken its Rise from the indiscreet Declarations of the Clergy, when they speak of *Heaven* or *Hell*; which are represented by many of the Protestants, as well as the Papists, as being two Places in a future State, in each of which there is but one Degree of Rewards, and one Degree of Punishment, which is that of infinite and eternal Happiness, or infinite and eternal Misery.

[6] 1 Cor. iii. 8. See also Matt. v. 9. x. 41. Dan. xii. 3.

Which

Which Doctrine is also attended with this further Inconvenience, that, by levelling the Degrees of Happiness in Heaven, it gives great Encouragement to the delaying and deferring of Repentance, that is, of the Amendment and Reformation of our Lives; under the Expectation of obtaining Heaven, that is, infinite and eternal Happiness, at last. Whereas, if Men were informed that every Sin which they commit would be an Abatement of the Happiness, which they would otherwise be entitled to the Enjoyment of; this ought certainly to make them more circumspect in their Proceedings. For although we should suppose, that the Penalty due for their Sins would be remitted through the Merits of *Christ*; yet they certainly must, by gratifying their Passions, lose that Reward, which they would have been entitled to, had they restrained their Inclinations.

Wherefore, my Lord, *as they who run in a Race, run all; so let us run that we may obtain.* And, at the same Time, let us always reflect upon the Terms on which this Prize is to be won, and the several consummate Degrees of Happiness to be obtained which are promised to those, who come to God through Jesus Christ; and that is, that Faith be joined with our Works, and that these two Requisites go Hand in Hand together.

For as to the Dispute about Faith and good Works, it seemeth to me as if it might have been easily settled, if it had not been so frequently and imprudently carried to Extremities by the Bigots on each Side of the Question. For *Faith* in Divinity seemeth to correspond exactly with the *Intention* in Morality. Let us therefore suppose that I had a Friend, whom I ought to do a Piece of Service for, if I had it in my Power. If I do any Action that is of Service to him, either barely because I think it right to do it, or to gratify my own Pride, or to establish my own Credit, or to serve my own Interest, or for any other selfish

View, without the least *Intention* of serving my Friend; surely it will not be said that he hath the least Obligation to me upon that Account. For *verily I have my Reward*, where alone I ought to expect it; in the Attainment of that End, which I proposed to myself, when the Action was performed: But as the Service of my Friend was not in my *Intention*, there is not the least Virtue, or Merit, in the Action with Regard to him. Again, if I profess never so much Friendship for him, and when I have it in my Power to serve him I refuse, or neglect, to do it, is it not manifest, that all my Professions are vain; and that I deceived myself, if I imagined I had a real Friendship for him? Whereas, if I had it not in my Power, but would really and truly serve him if I could, in this Case the *Intention* will stand in Lieu of the Action, when the Abilities are all that are wanting.

And now let us consider the same Cases with Regard to Faith and good Works. If I do any Action that God through *Christ* hath commanded to be done, either barely because I think it fit to be done, or to gratify my own Passions, to establish my own Interest or Credit in the World, or for any other selfish View, without any Regard to the Love of God, or his Commands, what Title have I to a Reward from him? Surely none in the least, as there was not with Regard to God, or *Christ*, the least Virtue, or Merit, in that Action. Again, If I profess never so much Faith in *Christ*, and his Religion; if, when I have it in my Power to obey his Commands, I either refuse, or neglect to do them, is it not manifest that all my Religion is vain, and that I deceived myself, when I imagined that I really loved, and believed in *Christ*. But, if there was a good Action, that I certainly would do in Obedience to the Commands of *Christ*, if I had it in my Power, but am prevented barely by the Want of Abilities; there my *Faith* will supply the Want of Works. Which is the sole Instance,
that

that can possibly be put wherein we shall be *saved by Faith alone*. For, as in Morality, it is the *Intention*, which gives Merit to the Action, and the Action which verifies the Intention; so in Divinity, although it is our Faith that sanctifies the Deed, yet *Faith without Works is dead*.

And now, my Lord, I believe you will think it full Time for me to take my Leave of you. I beseech therefore the God of all Goodness, that he will grant us both the Assistance of his holy Spirit, to enable us to lead such Lives here in this World, as, through the Merits and Mediation of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, will conduct us to his glorious Kingdom in the World to come.

Who am, &c.

I N D E X

O F

TEXTS of SCRIPTURE explained or illustrated.

Those marked with a Star, are ill read or ill translated.

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